CHARACTERISTICKS.

VOLUME IV.

A Notion of the TABLATURE, or JUDGMENT OF HERCULES.

A LETTER concerning DESIGN.

To which is now added,

A complete COLLECTION of Lord SHAFTSBURY'S LETTERS.

Printed in the YEAR MDCCLVIII.

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TREATISE VII.

VIZ.

A NOTION of the HISTORICAL DRAUGHT or TABLATURE

OF THE

Judgment of HERCULES,

According to PRODICUS,
Lib. II. *Xen. de Mem. Soc.*

——————— *Potiores*
HERCULIS *aerumnas credat, ſaevoſque labores,*
Et Venere, & coenis, & pluma SARDANAPALI.
JUV. Sat. 10.

Printed firſt in the Year M. DCC. XIII.

THE

JUDGMENT

OF

HERCULES.

INTRODUCTION.

(1.) BEFORE we enter on the examination of our hiſtorical ſketch, it may be proper to remark, that by the word *tablature* (for which we have yet no name in *Engliſh*, beſides the general one of *picture*) we denote, according to the original word TABULA, a work not only diſtinct from a mere *portraiture*, but from all thoſe wilder ſorts of painting which are in a manner abſolute, and independent; ſuch as the paintings *in freſco* upon the walls, the ceilings, the ſtair-caſes, the cupolo's, and other remarkable places either of churches or palaces.

(2.) ACCORDINGLY we are to underſtand, that it is not merely the ſhape or dimenſion of a cloth, or board, which denominates the *piece*, or *tablature*; ſince a work of this kind may be compos'd of any colour'd ſubſtance, as it may of any form; whether ſquare, oval, or round. But 'tis then that in painting we give to any particular work the name of *tablature*, when the work is in reality, "*a* "*ſingle piece*, comprehended in one *view*, and "form'd according to *one ſingle* intelligence, mean-"ing, or deſign; which conſtitutes a *real* WHOLE,

" by a mutual and neceſſary relation of its parts, " the ſame as of the members in a natural body." So that one may ſay of a picture compos'd of any number of figures differently rang'd, and without any regard to this correſpondency or union deſcribed, that it is no more a real *piece* or *tablature*, than a picture wou'd be a *man's picture*, or proper *portraiture*, which repreſented on the ſame cloth, in different places, the legs, arms, noſe, and eyes of ſuch a perſon, without adjuſting them according to the true proportion, air, and character which belong'd to him.

(3.) THIS regulation has place even in the inferiour degrees of painting; ſince the mere flower-painter is, we ſee, oblig'd to ſtudy the form of *feſtons*, and to make uſe of a peculiar order, or architecture of *vaſes*, *jars*, *canniſters*, *pedeſtals*, and other inventions, which ſerve as *machines*, to frame a certain proportionate aſſemblage, or united maſs; according to the rules of perſpective; and with regard as well to the different ſhapes and ſizes of his ſeveral flowers, as to the harmony of colours reſulting from the whole: this being the only thing capable of rendering his work worthy the name of a *compoſition* or *real piece*.

(4.) So much the more, therefore, is this regulation applicable to *hiſtory-painting*, where not only *men*, but *manners*, and human paſſions are repreſented. Here *the unity of deſign* muſt with more particular exactneſs be preſerv'd, according to the juſt rules of poetick art; that in the repreſentation of any event, or remarkable fact, the *probability*, or *ſeeming truth* (which is the *real truth* of art) may with the higheſt advantage be ſupported and advanc'd: as we ſhall better underſtand in the argument which follows on the hiſtorical *Tablature* of *the judgment of* HERCULES; who being young, and retir'd to a ſolitary place, in order to deliberate on the choice he was to make of the different ways of life, was accoſted (as our hiſtorian relates)

by the two Goddeſſes, VIRTUE and PLEASURE. 'Tis on the iſſue of the controverſy between theſe *two*, that the character of HERCULES depends. So that we may naturally give to this piece and hiſtory, as well the title of *The education*, as *the choice* or *judgment of* HERCULES. Ch. I.

CHAP. I.

Of the general conſtitution or ordonnance of the Tablature.

(1.) THIS fable or hiſtory may be variouſly repreſented, according to the order of time:

Either in the inſtant when the two Goddeſſes (VIRTUE and PLEASURE) accoſt HERCULES;

Or when they are enter'd on their diſpute;

Or when their diſpute is already far advanc'd, and VIRTUE ſeems to gain her cauſe.

(2.) ACCORDING to the *firſt* notion, HERCULES muſt of neceſſity ſeem ſurpriz'd on the firſt appearance of ſuch miraculous forms. He admires, he contemplates; but is not yet ingag'd or intereſted. According to the *ſecond* notion, he is intereſted, divided, and in doubt. According to the *third*, he is wrought, agitated, and torn by contrary paſſions. 'Tis the laſt effort of the vitious one, ſtriving for poſſeſſion over him. He agonizes, and with all his ſtrength of reaſon endeavours to overcome himſelf:

Et premitur ratione animus, vincique laborat.

(3.) OF theſe different periods of time, the latter has been choſen; as being the only one of the three, which can well ſerve to expreſs *the grand event*, or conſequent *reſolution* of HERCULES, and the *choice* he actually made of a life full of toil and hardſhip, under the conduct of VIRTUE, for the deliverance of mankind from tyranny and op-

Ch. 1. preſſion. And 'tis to ſuch *a piece*, or *Tablature*, as repreſents this iſſue of the ballance, in our pondering hero, that we may juſtly give the title of *the deciſion or judgment of* HERCULES.

(4.) THE ſame hiſtory may be repreſented yet according to a *fourth* date or period; as at the time when HERCULES is intirely won by *Virtue*. But then the ſigns of this reſolute determination reigning abſolutely in the attitude, and air of our young hero; there wou'd be no room left to repreſent his agony, or inward conflict, which indeed makes the principal action *here*; as it wou'd do in a *poem*, were this ſubject to be treated by a good poet. Nor wou'd there be any more room left in this caſe, either for the perſuaſive rhetorick of VIRTUE (who muſt have already ended her diſcourſe) or for the inſinuating addreſs of PLEASURE, who having loſt her cauſe, muſt neceſſarily appear diſpleas'd, or out of humour: a circumſtance which wou'd no way ſute her character.

(5.) IN the original ſtory or fable of this adventure of our young HERCULES, 'tis particularly noted, that PLEASURE advancing haſtily before VIRTUE, began her plea, and was heard with prevention; as being firſt in turn. And as this fable is wholly *philoſophical* and *moral*, this circumſtance in particular is to be conſider'd as eſſential.

(6.) IN this *third* period therefore of our hiſtory (dividing it, as we have done, into *four* ſucceſſive dates or points of time) HERCULES being auditor, and attentive, ſpeaks not. PLEASURE has ſpoken. VIRTUE is ſtill ſpeaking. She is about the middle, or towards the end of her diſcourſe; in the place where, according to juſt rhetorick, the higheſt tone of voice and ſtrongeſt action are employ'd.

(7.) 'TIS evident, that every maſter in painting, when he has made choice of the determinate date or point of time, according to which he wou'd repreſent his hiſtory, is afterwards debar'd the tak-

ing advantage from any other action than what is immediately present, and belonging to that single instant he describes. For if he passes the present only for a moment, he may as well pass it for many years. And by this reckoning he may with as good right repeat the same figure several times over, and in one and the same picture represent HERCULES in his cradle, struggling with the serpents; and the same HERCULES of full age, fighting with the *Hydra*, with *Anteus*, and with *Cerberus:* which wou'd prove a mere confus'd heap, or knot of pieces, and not a single intire *piece*, or *tablature*, of the historical kind. Ch. 1.

(8.) IT may however be allowable, on some occasions, to make use of certain *enigmatical* or *emblematical* devises, to represent a future time: as when HERCULES, yet a mere boy, is seen holding a small club, or wearing the skin of a young lion. For so we often find him in the best *antiques*. And tho history had never related of HERCULES, that being yet very young, he kill'd a lion with his own hand; this representation of him wou'd nevertheless be entirely conformable to *poetick truth;* which not only admits, but necessarily presupposes *prophecy* or *prognostication*, with regard to the actions and lives of heroes and great men. Besides that as to our subject, in particular, the natural genius of HERCULES, even in his tendrest youth, might alone answer for his handling such arms as these, and bearing, as it were in play, these early tokens of the future hero.

(9.) To preserve therefore a just conformity with *historical truth*, and with the *unity of time* and *action*, there remains no other way by which we can possibly give a hint of any thing future, or call to mind any thing past, than by setting in view such passages or events as have actually subsisted, or according to nature might well subsist, or happen together in *one and the same* instant. And this

Ch. 1. is what we may properly call *the rule of conſiſtency.*

(10.) How is it therefore poſſible (ſays one) to expreſs a change of paſſion in any ſubject, ſince this change is made by ſucceſſion; and that in this caſe the paſſion which is underſtood as preſent, will require a diſpoſition of body and features wholly different from the paſſion which is over, and paſt? To this we anſwer, That notwithſtanding the aſcendency or reign of the principal and immediate paſſion, the artiſt has power to leave ſtill in his ſubject the tracts or footſteps of its predeceſſor: ſo as to let us behold not only a riſing paſſion together with a declining one; but, what is more, a ſtrong and determinate paſſion, with its contrary already diſcharg'd and baniſh'd. As for inſtance, when the plain tracks of tears new fallen, with other freſh tokens of mourning and dejection, remain ſtill in a perſon newly tranſported with joy at the ſight of a relation or friend, who the moment before had been lamented as one deceas'd or loſt.

(11.) AGAIN, by the ſame means which are employ'd to call to mind *the paſt*, we may anticipate *the future:* as wou'd be ſeen in the caſe of an able painter, who ſhou'd undertake to paint this hiſtory of HERCULES according to the third date or period of time propos'd for our hiſtorical tablature. For in this momentary turn of action, HERCULES remaining ſtill in a ſituation expreſſive of ſuſpence and doubt, wou'd diſcover nevertheleſs that the ſtrength of this inward conflict was over, and that Victory began now to declare her ſelf in favour of *Virtue*. This tranſitions, which ſeems at firſt ſo myſteriou a performance, will be eaſily comprehended, if one conſiders, that the body, which moves much ſlower than the mind, is eaſily out-ſtrip'd by this latter; and that the mind on a ſudden turning it-ſelf ſome new way, the nearer ſituated and more ſprightly parts of the body (ſ ch. as the eyes and muſcles about the mouth and fo-

head) taking the alarm, and moving in an inſtant, may leave the heavier and more diſtant parts to adjuſt themſelves, and change their attitude, ſome moments after. Ch. I.

(12.) THIS different operation may be diſtinguiſh'd by the names of *anticipation* and *repeal*.

(13.) IF by any other method an artiſt ſhou'd pretend to introduce into this piece any portion of time future or paſt, he muſt either ſin directly againſt the law of *truth* and *credibility*, in repreſenting things contrary and incompatible; or againſt that law of *unity* and *ſimplicity of deſign*, which conſtitutes the very being of his work. This particularly ſhews it-ſelf in a picture, when one is neceſſarily left in doubt, and unable to determine readily, *which* of the diſtinct ſucceſſive parts of the hiſtory or action is that *very-one* repreſented in the deſign. For even here the caſe is the ſame as in the other circumſtances of poetry and painting: "That what is principal or chief, ſhou'd immedi-"ately ſhew itſelf, without leaving the mind in "any uncertainty."

(14.) ACCORDING to this rule of the *unity of time*, if one ſhou'd aſk an artiſt, who had painted this hiſtory of *the judgment of* HERCULES, "* Which "of theſe four periods or dates of time above pro-"pos'd he intended in his picture to repreſent;" and it ſhou'd happen that he cou'd not readily anſwer, 'Twas this, or that: it wou'd appear plainly he had never form'd a *real notion* of his workman-

* If the ſame queſtion concerning the *inſtantaneous* action, or preſent moment of time, were apply'd to many famous hiſtorical paintings much admir'd in the world, they would be found very defective: as we may learn by the inſtance of that ſingle ſubject of ACTEON, one of the commoneſt in painting. Hardly is there any where ſeen a deſign of this poetical hiſtory, without a ridiculous anticipation of the *metamorphoſis*. The horns of ACTEON, which are the effect of a charm, ſhou'd

Ch. 2. ſhip, or of the hiſtory he intended to repreſent. So that when he had executed even to a miracle all thoſe other beautys requiſite in *a piece*, and had fail'd in this ſingle one, he wou'd from hence alone be prov'd to be in truth no *hiſtory-painter*, or artiſt in the kind, who underſtood not ſo much as how to form the real deſign of a *hiſtorical piece*.

CHAP. II.

Of the firſt or principal figure.

(1.) TO apply therefore what has been ſaid above to our immediate deſign or *tablature* in hand; we may obſerve, in the firſt place, with regard to HERCULES, (the *firſt* or *principal figure* of our piece) that being plac'd in the middle, between the two Goddeſſes, he ſhou'd by a ſkilful maſter be ſo drawn, as even ſetting aſide the air and features of the face, it ſhou'd appear by the very turn, or poſition of the body alone, that this young hero had not wholly quitted the ballancing or pondering part. For in the manner of his turn towards the worthier of theſe Goddeſſes, he ſhou'd by no means appear ſo averſe or ſeparate from the other, as not to ſuffer it to be conceiv'd of him, that he had ever any inclination for her, or had ever hearken'd to her voice. On the contrary, there ought to be ſome hopes yet remaining for this latter Goddeſs PLEASURE, and ſome regret apparent in HERCULES. Otherwiſe we

naturally wait the execution of that act in which the charm conſiſts. Till the Goddeſs therefore has thrown her caſt, the hero's perſon ſuffers not any change. Even while the water flies, his forehead is ſtill ſound. But in the uſual deſign we ſee it otherwiſe. The horns are already *ſprouted*, if not full grown: and the Goddeſs is ſeen watering *the ſprouts*.

ſhou'd paſs immediately from the *third* to the *fourth* period: or at leaſt confound one with the other. Ch. 2.

(2.) HERCULES in this agony deſcrib'd, may appear either ſitting or ſtanding: tho it be more according to probability for him to appear ſtanding; in regard to the preſence of the two Goddeſſes, and by reaſon the caſe is far from being the ſame *here* as in *the judgment of* PARIS; where the intereſted Goddeſſes plead their cauſe before their judg. Here the intereſt of HERCULES himſelf is at ſtake. 'Tis *his own* cauſe which is trying. He is in this reſpect not ſo much *the judg*, as he is in reality *the party judg'd*.

(3.) THE ſuperiour and commanding paſſion of HERCULES may be expreſs'd either by a *ſtrong admiration*, or by an admiration which holds chiefly of *love*.

—— *Ingenti perculſus amore.*

(4.) IF the latter be us'd, then the reluctant paſſion, which is not yet wholly overcome, may ſhew itſelf in pity and tenderneſs, mov'd in our hero by the thought of thoſe pleaſures and companions of his youth, which he is going for ever to abandon. And in this ſenſe HERCULES may look either on the one or the other of the Goddeſſes, with this difference; that if he looks on *Pleaſure*, it ſhou'd be faintly, and as turning his eyes back with pity; having ſtill his action and geſture turn'd the other way towards *Virtue*. If, on the contrary, he looks on *Virtue;* it ought to be earneſtly and with extreme attention, having ſome part of the action of his body inclining ſtill towards *Pleaſure*, and diſcovering by certain features of concern and pity, intermix'd with the commanding or conquering paſſion, that the deciſion he is about to make in favour of *Virtue*, coſt him not a little.

(5.) IF it be thought fit rather to make uſe of admiration, merely to expreſs the *commanding* paſ-

Ch. 2. ſion of HERCULES: then the *reluctant-one* may diſcover it-ſelf in a kind of horrour, at the thought of the toil and labour, to be ſuſtain'd in the rough rocky way apparent on the ſide of *Virtue*.

(6.) AGAIN, HERCULES may be repreſented as looking neither towards *Virtue* nor *Pleaſure*, but as turning his eyes either towards the mountainous rocky way pointed out to him by *Virtue*, or towards the flowry way of the vale and meadows, recommended to him by *Pleaſure*. And to theſe different attitudes may be apply'd the ſame rules for the expreſſion of the *turn* or *balance of judgment* in our penſive hero.

(7.) WHATEVER may be the manner choſen for the deſigning of this figure of HERCULES, according to that part of the hiſtory in which we have taken him; 'tis certain he ſhou'd be ſo drawn, as neither by the opening of his mouth, or by any other ſign, to leave it in the leaſt dubious whether he is ſpeaking or ſilent. For 'tis abſolutely requiſite that *ſilence* ſhou'd be diſtinctly characteriz'd in HERCULES, not only as the natural effect of his ſtrict attention, and the little leiſure he has from what paſſes at this time within his breaſt; but in order withal to give that appearance of majeſty and ſuperiority becoming the perſon and character of pleading *Virtue*; who by her eloquence and other charms has e'er this made herſelf miſtreſs of the heart of our enamour'd hero:

* —— *Pendetque iterum narrantis ab ore.*

This image of *the ſublime* in the diſcourſe and manner of *Virtue*, wou'd be utterly loſt, if in the inſtant that ſhe employ'd the greateſt force of action, ſhe ſhould appear to be interrupted by the ill-tim'd ſpeech, reply, or utterance of her auditor. Such a deſign or repreſentation as this, wou'd prove contrary to order, contrary to the hiſtory, and to

* Virg. Æneid. lib. 4. ver. 79.

the *decorum*, or decency of manners. Nor can one well avoid taking notice here, of that general abſurdity committed by many of the eſteem'd great maſters in painting; who in one and the ſame company, or aſſembly of perſons jointly employ'd, and united according to the hiſtory, in one ſingle or common action, repreſent to us not only *two* or *three*, but *ſeveral*, and ſometimes *all* ſpeaking at once. Which muſt naturally have the ſame effect on the eye, as ſuch a converſation wou'd have upon the ear, were we in reality to hear it. Ch. 3.

CHAP. III.

Of the ſecond figure.

(1.) AFTER what has been ſaid on the ſubject of HERCULES, it appears plainly what the *attitude* muſt be of our ſecond figure, *Virtue*; who, as we have taken her in this particular period of our hiſtory, muſt of neceſſity be *ſpeaking* with all the force of action, ſuch as wou'd appear in an excellent orator, when at the height, and in the moſt affecting part of his diſcourſe.

(2.) SHE ought therefore to be drawn *ſtanding*; ſince 'tis contrary to all probable appearance, and even to nature it-ſelf, that in the very heat and higheſt tranſport of ſpeech, the ſpeaker ſhou'd be ſeen ſitting, or in any poſture which might expreſs repoſe.

(3.) SHE may be *habited* either as an AMAZON, with the helmet, lance, and in the robe or veſt of PALLAS; or as any other of the *Virtues*, *Goddeſſes*, or *Heroines*, with the plain original crown, without rays, according to genuine antiquity. Our hiſtory makes no mention of a helmet, or any other armour of *Virtue*. It gives us only to underſtand that ſhe was dreſs'd neither negligently, nor with much ſtudy or ornament. If we follow this latter method, we need give her only in her hand the

Ch. 3. imperial or * magiſterial ſword; which is her true characteriſtick mark, and wou'd ſufficiently diſtinguiſh her, without the helmet, lance, or other military habit. And in this manner the oppoſition between herſelf and her rival wou'd be ſtill more beautiful and regular.—"But this beauty, ſays one, "wou'd be diſcoverable only by the learned."—Perhaps ſo. But then again there wou'd be no loſs for others: ſince no-one wou'd find this piece the leſs intelligible on the account of this regulation. On the contrary, one who chanc'd to know little of antiquity in general, or of this hiſtory in particular, wou'd be ſtill further to ſeek, if upon ſeeing an arm'd woman in the piece, he ſhou'd repreſent to himſelf either a PALLAS, a BELLONA, or any other warlike form, or deity of the female kind.

(4.) As for the *ſhape, countenance*, or perſon of *Virtue;* that which is uſually given to PALLAS may fitly ſerve as a model for this dame; as on the other ſide, that which is given to VENUS may ſerve in the ſame manner for her rival. The hiſtorian whom we follow, repreſents *Virtue* to us as a lady of a goodly form, tall and majeſtick. And by what he relates of her, he gives us ſufficiently to underſtand, that tho ſhe was neither lean, nor of a tanned complexion, ſhe muſt have diſcover'd however, by the ſubſtance and colour of her fleſh, that ſhe was ſufficiently accuſtom'd to exerciſe. *Pleaſure*, on the other hand, by an exact oppoſition, is repreſented in better caſe, and of a ſoftneſs of complexion; which ſpeaks her manners, and gives her a middle character between the perſon of a VENUS, and that of a BACCHINAL *Nymph*.

(5.) As for the *poſition*, or *attitude* of *Virtue;* tho in a hiſtorical piece, ſuch as ours is deſign'd, 'twou'd on no account be proper to have immediate recourſe to the way of *emblem;* one might, on this occaſion, endeavour nevertheleſs by ſome artifice,

* Parazonium.

to give our figure, as much as poſſible, the reſemblance of the ſame *Goddeſs*, as ſhe is ſeen on medals, and other antient emblematick pieces of like nature. In this view, ſhe ſhou'd be ſo deſign'd, as to ſtand firm with her full poiſe upon one foot, having the other a little advanc'd, and rais'd on a broken piece of ground or rock, inſtead of the helmet or little globe on which we ſee her uſually ſetting her foot, as triumphant, in thoſe pieces of the *emblematick* kind. A particular advantage of this attitude, ſo judiciouſly aſſign'd to *Virtue* by antient maſters, is, that it expreſſes well her aſpiring effort, or aſcent towards the ſtars and heaven, as her victory and ſuperiority over fortune and the world. For ſo the poets have, of old, deſcrib'd her: Ch. 3.

* —— *Negata tentat iter via.*
† *Virtutiſque viam deſerit arduæ.*

And in our piece particularly, where the *arduous* and *rocky way* of *Virtue* requires to be emphatically repreſented; the aſcending poſture of this figure, with one foot advanc'd, in a ſort of climbing action, over the rough and thorny ground, muſt of neceſſity, if well executed, create a due effect, and add to the ſublime of this ‡ antient *poetick* work.

(6.) As for the *hands* or *arms*, which in real oratory, and during the ſtrength of elocution, muſt of neceſſity be active; 'tis plain in reſpect of our Goddeſs, that the arm in particular which ſhe has free to her-ſelf, and is neither encumber'd with lance

* Horat. lib. 3. od. 2. † Idem ibid. od. 24.

‡ *As antient as the poet* HESIOD: *which appears by the following verſes, cited by our hiſtorian, as the foundation, or firſt draught of this* HERCULEAN *tablature.*

Τὴν μὲν γὰρ κακότητα καὶ ἱλαδὸν ἔστιν ἑλέσθαι
Ῥηϊδίως· λείη μὲν ὁδός, μάλα δ' ἐγγύθι ναίει.
Τῆς δ' ἀρετῆς ἱδρῶτα θεοὶ προπάροιθεν ἔθηκαν
Ἀθάνατοι. μακρὸς δὲ καὶ ὄρθιος οἶμος ἐπ' αὐτὴν,
Καὶ τρηχὺς τὸ πρῶτον· ἐπὴν δ' εἰς ἄκρον ἵκηται,
Ῥηϊδίη δ' ἤπειτα πέλει, χαλεπὴ περ ἐοῦσα.

Ch. 3. or ſword, ſhou'd be employ'd another way, and come in, to ſecond the diſcourſe, and accompany it, with a juſt emphaſis and action. Accordingly, *Virtue* wou'd then be ſeen with this hand, turn'd either *upwards* to the rocky way mark'd out by her with approbation; or to the ſky, or ſtars, in the ſame ſublime ſenſe: or *downwards* to the flowery way and vale, as in a deteſting manner, and with abhorrence of what paſſes there; or laſt of all (in a diſdainful ſenſe, and with the ſame appearance of deteſtation) againſt *Pleaſure* her-ſelf. Each manner wou'd have its peculiar advantage. And the beſt profit ſhou'd be made of this arm and hand at liberty, to expreſs either the *diſapprobation* or the *applauſe* propos'd. It might prove, however, a conſiderable advantage to our figure of *Virtue*, if holding the lance, or imperial ſword, ſlightly, with one of her hands ſtretch'd downwards, ſhe cou'd, by that very hand and action, be made to expreſs *the latter* meaning; opening for that purpoſe ſome of the lower fingers of this hand, in a refuſing or repelling manner; whilſt with the other arm and hand at liberty, ſhe ſhou'd expreſs as well *the former* meaning, and point out to HERCULES the way which leads to honour, and the juſt glory of heroick actions.

(7.) FROM all theſe circumſtances of hiſtory, and action, accompanying this important figure, the difficulty of the deſign will ſufficiently appear, to thoſe who carry their judgment beyond the *mere form*, and are able to conſider the character of the *paſſion* to which it is ſubjected. For where a real character is mark'd, and *the inward form* peculiarly deſcrib'd, 'tis neceſſary *the outward* ſhou'd give place. Whoever ſhou'd expect to ſee our figure of *Virtue*, in the exact mein of a *fine talker*, curious in her choice of action, and forming it according to the uſual decorum, and regular movement of one of the fair ladys of our age, wou'd certainly be far wide of the thought and genius of this

piece. Such ſtudy'd action and artificial geſture may be allow'd to the actors and actrices of the ſtage. But the good painter muſt come a little nearer to TRUTH, and take care that his action be not *theatrical*, or at ſecond hand; but *original*, and drawn from NATURE her-ſelf. Now altho in the ordinary tenour of diſcourſe, the action of the party might be allow'd to appear ſo far govern'd and compos'd by art, as to retain that regular *contraſte* and nice ballance of movement which painters are apt to admire as the chief grace of figures; yet in this particular caſe, where the natural eagerneſs of debate, ſupported by a thorow antipathy and animoſity, is join'd to a ſort of *enthuſiaſtick agitation* incident to our prophetick dame, there can be little of that faſhionable mein, or genteel air admitted. The painter who, in ſuch a piece as we deſcribe, is bound to preſerve the heroick ſtile, will doubtleſs beware of repreſenting his heroine as a mere *ſcold*. Yet this is certain; that it were better for him to expoſe himſelf to the meanneſs of ſuch a fancy, and paint his lady in a high rant, according to the common weakneſs of the ſex, than to engage in the embelliſhment of the mere *form*; and forgetting the character of ſeverity and reprimand belonging to the illuſtrious rival, preſent her to us a fair ſpecious perſonage, free of emotion, and without the leaſt bent or movement which ſhould expreſs the real *pathetick* of the kind.

Ch. 4.

CHAP. IV.

Of the third figure.

(1.) CONCERNING *Pleaſure* there needs little to be ſaid, after what has been already remark'd in relation to the two preceeding figures. The truth of *appearance*, that of *hiſtory*, and even the *decorum* it-ſelf (according to what has been explain'd above) require evidently that in this

Ch. 4. period or inſtant deſcrib'd, *Pleaſure* ſhou'd be found ſilent. She can have no other language allow'd her than that merely of *the eyes*. And 'twou'd be a happy management for her in the deſign, if in turning her eyes to meet thoſe of HERCULES, ſhe ſhou'd find his head and face already turn'd ſo much on the contrary ſide, as to ſhew it impoſſible for her as yet to diſcover the growing paſſion of this hero in favour of her rival. By this means ſhe might ſtill with good right retain her fond airs of dalliance and courtſhip; as having yet diſcover'd no reaſon ſhe has to be diſſatisfy'd.

(2.) SHE may be drawn either *ſtanding*, *leaning*, *ſitting*, or *lying*; without a crown, or crown'd either with roſes, or with myrtle; according to the painter's fancy. And ſince in this *third* figure the painter has ſo great a liberty left him, he may make good advantage of it for the other *two*; to which *this latter* may be ſubjected, as the laſt in order, and of leaſt conſequence.

(3.) THAT which makes the greateſt difficulty in the diſpoſition or ordonnance of this figure *Pleaſure*, is, that notwithſtanding the ſupine air and character of eaſe and indolence, which ſhou'd be given her, ſhe muſt retain ſtill ſo much life and action, as is ſufficient to expreſs her *perſuaſive effort*, and manner of *indication* towards her proper paths; thoſe of the flowery kind, and vale below, whither ſhe wou'd willingly guide our hero's ſteps. Now ſhou'd this *effort* be over-ſtrongly expreſs'd; not only the ſupine character and air of indolence wou'd be loſt in this figure of *Pleaſure*; but, what is worſe, the figure wou'd ſeem to ſpeak, or at leaſt appear ſo, as to create a double meaning, or *equivocal ſenſe* in painting: which wou'd deſtroy what we have eſtabliſh'd as fundamental, concerning the abſolute reign of *Silence* thro-out the reſt of the piece, in favour of VIRTUE, the ſole ſpeaking party at this inſtant, or third period of our hiſtory.

(4.) ACCORDING to a computation, which in this way of reaſoning might be made, of the whole *motion* or *action* to be given to our figure of *Pleaſure*; ſhe ſhou'd ſcarce have *one fifth* reſerv'd for that which we may properly call *active* in her, and have already term'd her *perſuaſive* or *indicative effort*. All beſides ſhou'd be employ'd to expreſs (if one may ſay ſo) her *inaction*, her *ſupineneſs*, *effeminacy*, and *indulgent eaſe*. The head and body might intirely favour this latter paſſion. One hand might be abſolutely reſign'd to it; ſerving only to ſupport, with much ado, the lolling lazy body. And if the other hand be requir'd to expreſs ſome kind of geſture or action towards the road of pleaſures recommended by this dame; the geſture ought however to be ſlight and negligent, in the manner of one who has given over ſpeaking, and appears weary and ſpent. Ch. 5.

(5.) FOR the *ſhape*, the *perſon*, the *complexion*, and what elſe may be further remark'd as to the *air* and *manner* of *Pleaſure*; all this is naturally comprehended in the oppoſition, as above ſtated, between *her-ſelf* and *Virtue*.

CHAP. V.

Of the ornaments of the piece; and chiefly of the drapery, and perſpective.

(1.) 'TIS ſufficiently known, how great a liberty painters are us'd to take, in the colouring of their habits, and of other draperys belonging to their hiſtorical pieces. If they are to paint a *Roman* people, they repreſent 'em in different dreſſes; tho it be certain the common people among 'em were habited very near alike, and much after the ſame colour. In like manner, the *Egyptians*, *Jews*, and other antient nations, as we may well ſuppoſe, bore in this particular their reſpective likeneſs or reſemblance one to another, as

Ch. 5. at preſent the *Spaniards*, *Italians*, and ſeveral other people of *Europe*. But ſuch a reſemblance as this wou'd, in the way of painting, produce a very untoward effect; as may eaſily be conceiv'd. For this reaſon the painter makes no ſcruple to introduce *philoſophers*, and even *apoſtles*, in various colours, after a very extraordinary manner. 'Tis here that the *hiſtorical truth* muſt of neceſſity indeed give way to that which we call *poetical*, as being govern'd not ſo much by *reality*, as by *probability*, or *plauſible appearance*. So that a painter, who uſes his privilege or prerogative in this reſpect, ought however to do it cautiouſly, and with diſcretion. And when occaſion requires that he ſhou'd preſent us his *philoſophers* or *apoſtles* thus variouſly colour'd, he muſt take care at leaſt ſo to mortify his colours, that theſe plain poor men may not appear, in his piece, adorn'd like ſo many lords or princes of the modern garb.

(2.) IF, on the other hand, the painter ſhou'd happen to take for his ſubject ſome ſolemn entry or triumph, where, according to the truth of *fact*, all manner of magnificence had without doubt been actually diſplay'd, and all ſorts of bright and dazling colours heap'd together and advanc'd, in emulation, one againſt another; he ought on this occaſion, in breach of the *hiſtorical truth*, or truth of *fact*, to do his utmoſt to diminiſh and reduce the exceſſive gayety and ſplendour of thoſe objects, which wou'd otherwiſe raiſe ſuch a confuſion, oppugnancy, and riot of colours, as wou'd to any judicious eye appear abſolutely intolerable.

(3.) IT becomes therefore an able painter in this, as well as in the other parts of his workmanſhip, to have regard principally, and above all, to the agreement or correſpondency of things. And to that end 'tis neceſſary he ſhou'd form in his mind a certain note or character of *unity*, which being happily taken, wou'd out of the many colours of his piece, produce (if one may ſay ſo) a

particular diſtinct ſpecies of an original kind: like thoſe compoſitions in muſick, where among the different airs (ſuch as *ſonatas*, *entrys*, *or ſarabands*) there are different and diſtinct ſpecies; of which we may ſay in particular, as to each, "That it has "its own proper character or genius, peculiar to "it-ſelf." Ch. 5.

(4.) THUS the *harmony* of painting requires, "That in whatever *key* the painter begins his piece, "he ſhou'd be ſure to finiſh it in the ſame."

(5.) THIS regulation turns on the *principal figure*, or on the two or three which are *eminent*, in a tablature compos'd of many. For if the painter happens to give a certain height or richneſs of colouring to his principal figure; the reſt muſt in proportion neceſſarily partake this genius. But if, on the contrary, the painter ſhou'd have chanc'd to give a ſofter air, with more gentleneſs and ſimplicity of colouring, to his principal figure; the reſt muſt bear a character proportionable, and appear in an extraordinary ſimplicity; that one and the ſame ſpirit may, without conteſt, reign thro the whole of his deſign.

(6.) Our hiſtorical draught of HERCULES will afford us a very clear example in the caſe. For conſidering that the hero is to appear on this occaſion retir'd and gloomy; being withal in a manner naked, and without any other covering than a lion's ſkin, which is it-ſelf of a yellow and duſky colour; it wou'd be really impracticable for a painter to repreſent this principal figure in any extraordinary brightneſs and luſtre. From whence it follows, that in the other inferiour figures or ſubordinate parts of the work, the painter muſt neceſſarily make uſe of ſuch ſtill quiet colours, as may give to the whole piece a character of ſolemnity and ſimplicity, agreeable with it-ſelf. Now ſhou'd our painter honeſtly go about to follow his hiſtorian, according to the literal ſenſe of the hiſtory, which repreſents *Virtue* to us in a reſplendent robe of the

Ch. 5. pureſt and moſt gloſſy white; 'tis evident he muſt after this manner deſtroy his piece. The *good painter* in this, as in all other occaſions of like nature, muſt do as the *good poet*; who undertaking to treat ſome common and known ſubject, refuſes however to follow ſtrictly, like a mere copyiſt or tranſlator, any preceeding poet or hiſtorian; but ſo orders it, that his work in it-ſelf becomes really new and original.

* *Publica materies privati juris erit, ſi*
Nec circa vilem patulumque moraberis orbem;
Nec verbum verbo curabis reddere fidus
Interpres.

(7.) As for what relates to the *perſpective* or *ſcene* of our hiſtorical piece, it ought ſo to preſent it-ſelf, as to make us inſtantly conceive that 'tis in the country, and in a place of retirement, near ſome wood or foreſt, that this whole action paſſes. For 'twou'd be impertinent to bring *architecture* or buildings of whatever kind in view, as tokens of company, diverſion, or affairs, in a place purpoſely choſen to denote ſolitude, thoughtfulneſs, and premeditate retreat. Beſides, that according to the poets (our guides and maſters in this art) neither the Goddeſſes, nor other divine forms of whatever kind, car'd ever to preſent themſelves to human ſight, elſewhere than in theſe deep receſſes. And 'tis worth obſerving here, how particularly our philoſophical hiſtorian affects to ſpeak, by way of prevention, of the ſolitary place where HERCULES was retir'd, and of his thoughtfulneſs preceding this apparition: which from theſe circumſtances may be conſtru'd hence-forward as a mere *dream*; but as ſuch, a truly rational, and *divine*-one.

(8.) As to the *fortreſs*, *temple*, or *palace* of *Virtue*, ſituated on a mountain, after the emble-

* Hor. de Art. Poet. v. 131.

matical way; as we ſee repreſented in ſome pieces form'd upon this ſubject; there is nothing of this kind expreſs'd by our hiſtorian. And ſhou'd this or any thing of a like nature preſent it-ſelf in our deſign, it wou'd fill the mind with foreign fancys, and myſterious views, no way agreeable to the taſte and genius of this piece. Nor is there any thing, at the ſame time, on PLEASURE's ſide, to anſwer, by way of oppoſition, to this *palace of* VIRTUE; which, if expreſs'd, would on this account deſtroy the juſt ſimplicity and correſpondency of our work. Ch. 5.

(9.) ANOTHER reaſon againſt the *perſpective*-part, the *architecture*, or other ſtudy'd ornaments of the *landſkip*-kind, in this particular piece of ours, is; that in reality there being no occaſion for theſe appearances, they wou'd prove a mere incumbrance to the eye, and wou'd of neceſſity diſturb the ſight, by diverting it from that which is principal, the *hiſtory* and *fact*. Whatſoever appears in a hiſtorical deſign, which is not eſſential to the action, ſerves only to confound the repreſentation, and perplex the mind: more particularly, if theſe *epiſodick* parts are ſo lively wrought, as to vie with the principal ſubject, and contend for precedency with the *figures* and *human life*. A juſt deſign, or tablature, ſhou'd, at firſt view, diſcover, What *nature* it is deſign'd to imitate; what *life*, whether of the higher or lower kind, it aims chiefly to repreſent. The piece muſt by no means be equivocal or dubious; but muſt with eaſe diſtinguiſh it ſelf, either as *hiſtorical* and *moral*, or as *perſpective* and merely *natural*. If it be *the latter* of theſe beautys, which we deſire to ſee delineated according to its perfection, then *the former* muſt give place. The *higher* life muſt be allay'd, and in a manner diſcountenanc'd and obſcur'd; whilſt the *lower* diſplays it-ſelf, and is exhibited as principal. Even that which according to a term of art we commonly call *ſtill-life*, and is in reality of the laſt and loweſt degree of painting, muſt have its ſuperiori-

Ch. 5. ty and juſt preference, in a tablature of its own ſpecies. 'Tis the ſame in *animal-pieces*; where beaſts, or fowl are repreſented. In *landſkip*, inanimates are principal: 'tis the earth, the water, the ſtones, and rocks which live. All other life becomes ſubordinate. Humanity, ſenſe, manners, muſt in this place yield, and become inferiour. 'Twou'd be a fault even to aim at the expreſſion of any real beauty in this kind, or go about to animate or heighten in any conſiderable degree the accompanying figures of men, or deitys which are accidentally introduc'd, as appendices, or ornaments, in ſuch a piece. But if, on the contrary, the *human ſpecies* be that which firſt preſents it-ſelf in a picture; if it be the *intelligent life*, which is ſet to view; 'tis the *other ſpecies*, the *other life*, which muſt then ſurrender and become ſubſervient. The *merely natural* muſt pay homage to the *hiſtorical* or *moral*. Every beauty, every grace muſt be ſacrific'd to the *real* BEAUTY *of this firſt and higheſt order*. For nothing can be more deform'd than a confuſion of many beautys: and the confuſion becomes inevitable, where the ſubjection is not compleat.

(10.) BY the word MORAL is underſtood, in this place, all ſorts of judicious repreſentations of the human paſſions; as we ſee even in *battle-pieces*; excepting thoſe of diſtant figures, and the diminutive kind; which may rather be conſider'd as a ſort of *landſkip*. In all other martial pieces, we ſee expreſs'd in lively action, the ſeveral degrees of valour, magnanimity, cowardice, terrour, anger, according to the ſeveral characters of nations, and particular men. 'Tis here that we may ſee *heroes* and *chiefs* (ſuch as the ALEXANDERS and CONSTANTINES) appear, even in the hotteſt of the action, with a tranquillity and ſedateneſs of mind peculiar to themſelves: which is, indeed, in a direct and proper ſenſe, profoundly *moral*.

(11.) BUT as the *moral* part is differently treat-

ed in a *poem*, from what it is in *hiſtory*, or in a *philoſophical* work; ſo muſt it, of right, in *painting* be far differently treated, from what it naturally is, either in the *hiſtory*, or *poem*. For want of a right underſtanding of this maxim, it often happens that by endeavouring to render a piece highly *moral* and *learned*, it becomes thorowly ridiculous and impertinent. Ch. 5.

(12.) FOR the ordinary works of SCULPTURE, ſuch as the *low-relieves*, and ornaments of *columns* and *edifices*, great allowance is made. The very rules of perſpective are here wholly revers'd, as neceſſity requires, and are accommodated to the circumſtance and genius of the place or building, according to a certain œconomy or order of a particular and diſtinct kind; as will eaſily be obſerv'd by thoſe who have thorowly ſtudy'd the TRAJAN and ANTONINUS-*pillars*, and other *relieve*-works of the antients. In the ſame manner, as to pieces of ingrav'd work, medals, or whatever ſhews itſelf in one ſubſtance (as braſs or ſtone) or only by ſhade and light (as in ordinary drawings, or ſtamps) much alſo is allow'd, and many things admitted, of the *fantaſtick*, *miraculous*, or *hyperbolical* kind. 'Tis here, that we have free ſcope withal for whatever is *learned*, *emblematical*, or *enigmatick*. But for the compleatly imitative and illuſive art of PAINTING, whoſe character it is to employ in her works the united force of different colours; and who, ſurpaſſing by ſo many degrees, and in ſo many privileges, all other human fiction, or imitative art, aſpires in a directer manner towards deceit, and a command over our very ſenſe; ſhe muſt of neceſſity abandon whatever is over-*learned*, *humorous*, or *witty*; to maintain herſelf in what is *natural*, *credible*, and *winning of our aſſent*: that ſhe may thus acquit her-ſelf of what is her chief province, *the ſpecious appearance of the objects ſhe repreſents*. Otherwiſe we ſhall naturally bring againſt her the juſt criticiſm of Ho-

Ch. 5. RACE, on the ſcenical repreſentation ſo nearly ally'd to her:

Quodcunque oſtendis mihi ſic, incredulus odi.

(13.) WE are therefore to conſider this as a ſure maxim or obſervation in painting, "That a "*hiſtorical* and *moral* piece muſt of neceſſity loſe "much of its natural ſimplicity and grace, if any "thing of the *emblematical* or *enigmatick* kind be "viſibly and directly intermix'd." As if, for inſtance, the circle of the * *zodiack*, with its twelve ſigns were introduc'd. Now this being an appearance which carrys not any manner of ſimilitude or colourable reſemblance to any thing extant in real nature; it cannot poſſibly pretend to win the ſenſe or gain belief, by the help of any *poetical enthuſiaſm*, *religious hiſtory*, or *faith*. For by means of theſe, indeed, we are eaſily induc'd to contemplate as realitys thoſe divine perſonages and miraculous forms, which the leading painters, antient and modern, have ſpeciouſly deſign'd, according to the particular doctrine or theology of their ſeveral religious and national beliefs. But for our tablature in particular, it carrys nothing with it of the mere *emblematical* or *enigmatick* kind: ſince for what relates to the double way of the vale and mountain, this may naturally and with colourable appearance be repreſented at the mountain's foot. But if on the ſummit or higheſt point of it, we ſhou'd place the fortreſs, or palace of *Virtue*, riſing above the clouds, this wou'd immediately give the enigmatical myſterious air to our *picture*, and of neceſſity deſtroy its perſuaſive ſimplicity, and natural appearance.

* This is what RAPHAEL himſelf has done, in his famous deſign of *the judgment of* PARIS. But this piece having been never painted, but deſign'd only for MARC ANTONIO's engraving, it comes not within our cenſure; as appears by what is ſaid in the paragraph juſt preceding.

(14.) In ſhort, we are to carry this remembrance ſtill along with us, "That the fewer the "objects are, beſides thoſe which are abſolutely "neceſſary in a piece, the eaſier it is for the eye, "by one ſimple act and in one view, to compre-"hend the *ſum* or *whole*." The multiplication of ſubjects, tho ſubaltern, renders the ſubordination more difficult to execute in the ordonnance or compoſition of a work. And if the *ſubordination* be not perfect, the *order* (which makes the beauty) remains imperfect. Now the *ſubordination* can never be perfect, except "* when the ordonnance "is ſuch, that the eye not only runs over with eaſe "the ſeveral parts of the deſign, (reducing ſtill its "view each moment on the principal ſubject on "which all turns) but when the ſame eye, with-"out the leaſt detainment in any of the particular "parts, and reſting, as it were, immoveable in the "middle, or center of the tablature, may ſee at "once, in an agreeable and perfect correſponden-"cy, all which is there exhibited to the ſight." Ch. 6.

CHAP. VI.

Of the caſual or independent ornaments.

(1.) THERE remains for us now to conſider only of the ſeparate ornaments, independent both of figures and perſpective; ſuch as the † *machine-work* or *divinitys* in the ſky, the winds, cupids, birds, animals, dogs, or other looſe pieces which are introduc'd without any abſolute neceſſity, and in a way of humour. But as theſe

* This is what the *Grecian* maſters ſo happily expreſs'd, by the ſingle word Ευσύνοπτον. See *Characteriſticks*, Vol. I. *p.* 96, &c.

† *This is underſtood of the* machine-work, *when it is merely ornamental, and not eſſential in the piece; by making part of the hiſtory, or fable it-ſelf.*

Ch. 6. belong chiefly to the *ordinary life*, and to the *comick*, or *mix'd* kind; our tablature, which on the contrary is wholly *epick*, *heroick*, and in the *tragick* ſtile, wou'd not ſo eaſily admit of any thing in this light way.

(2.) WE may beſides conſider, that whereas the mind is naturally led to fancy myſtery in a work of ſuch a genius or ſtile of painting as ours, and to confound with each other the two diſtinct kinds of the *emblematick* and merely *hiſtorical* or *poetick*; we ſhou'd take care not to afford it this occaſion of error and deviation, by introducing into a piece of ſo uniform a deſign, ſuch appendices, or ſupplementary parts, as, under pretext of giving light to the hiſtory, or characterizing the figures, ſhou'd ſerve only to diſtract or diſſipate the ſight, and confound the judgment of the more intelligent ſpectators.

(3.) "WILL it then (ſays one) be poſſible to "make out the ſtory of theſe two *dames* in com- "pany with HERCULES, without otherwiſe di- "ſtinguiſhing them than as above deſcrib'd?"—— We anſwer, it is poſſible; and not that only, but certain and infallible, in the caſe of one who has the leaſt genius, or has ever heard in general concerning HERCULES, without ſo much as having ever heard this hiſtory in particular. But if notwithſtanding this, we wou'd needs add ſome exteriour marks, more declaratory and determinative of theſe two perſonages, VIRTUE and PLEASURE; it may be perform'd, however, without any neceſſary recourſe to what is abſolutely of the *emblem*-kind. The manner of this may be explain'd as follows.

(4.) THE energy or natural force of *Virtue*, according to the moral philoſophy of higheſt note among the antients, was expreſs d in the double effect of * *forbearance* and *indurance*, or what we

* Καρτερία, Ἐγκρατεία: *They were deſcrib'd as ſiſters*

may otherwiſe call *refrainment* and *ſupport*. For the former, *the bit* or *bridle*, plac'd ſomewhere on the ſide of *Virtue*, may ſerve as emblem ſufficient; and for the ſecond, *the helmet* may ſerve in the ſame manner: eſpecially ſince they are each of them appurtenances eſſential to *heroes* (who, in the quality of warriors, were alſo ſubduers or * managers of horſes) and that at the ſame time theſe are really portable inſtruments, ſuch as the martial dame, who repreſents *Virtue*, may be well ſuppos'd to have brought along with her. Ch. 6.

(5.) On the ſide of Pleasure, certain *vaſes*, and other pieces of imboſs'd plate, wrought in the figures of *ſatyrs*, *fauns*, and *Bacchanals*, may ſerve to expreſs the debauches of the table-kind. And certain draperys thrown careleſly on the ground, and hung upon a neighbouring tree, forming a kind of bower and couch for this luxurious dame, may ſerve ſufficiently to ſuggeſt the thought of other indulgences, and to ſupport the image of the effeminate, indolent, and amorous paſſions. Beſides that for this latter kind, we may reſt ſatisfy'd, 'tis what the painter will hardly fail of repreſenting to the full. The fear is, leſt he ſhou'd overdo this part, and expreſs the affection too much to the life. The appearance will, no doubt, be ſtrongly wrought in all the features and proportions of this *third figure;* which is of a reliſh far more popular, and vulgarly ingaging, than that *other* oppos'd to it, in our hiſtorical deſign.

in the emblematick moral philoſophy of the antients. Whence that known precept, Ἀνέχου καὶ Ἀπέχου, Sustine & Abstine.

* Castor, Pollux; all the heroes of Homer; Alexander the Great, *&c.*

CONCLUSION.

(1.) WE may conclude this argument with a general reflection, which ſeems to ariſe naturally from what has been ſaid on this ſubject in particular; "That in a real *hiſtory-painter*, the "ſame knowledg, the ſame ſtudy, and views, are "requir'd, as in a real *poet*." Never can the *poet* (whilſt he juſtly holds that name) become a *relator*, or *hiſtorian* at large. He is allow'd only to deſcribe a ſingle action; not the actions of a ſingle man, or people. The *painter* is a hiſtorian at the ſame rate, but ſtill more narrowly confin'd, as in fact appears; ſince it wou'd certainly prove a more ridiculous attempt to comprehend two or three diſtinct actions or parts of hiſtory in *one* picture, than to comprehend ten times the number in *one* and *the ſame* poem.

(2.) 'Tis well known, that to each ſpecies of poetry, there are natural proportions and limits aſſign'd. And it wou'd be a groſs abſurdity indeed to imagine, that in a poem there was nothing which we cou'd call *meaſure* or *number*, except merely in the verſe. An elegy, and an epigram have each of 'em their meaſure and proportion, as well as a tragedy, or epick poem. In the ſame manner, as to painting, ſculpture, or ſtatuary, there are particular meaſures which form what we call a *piece*: as for inſtance, in mere portraiture, a *head*, or *buſt*; the former of which muſt retain always the whole, or at leaſt a certain part of the neck; as the latter the ſhoulders, and a certain part of the breaſt. If any thing be added or retrench'd, the *piece* is deſtroy'd. 'Tis then a mangled trunk, or diſmember'd body, which preſents it-ſelf to our imagination; and this too not thro uſe merely, or on the account of cuſtom, but of neceſſity, and by the nature of the appearance: ſince there are ſuch and ſuch parts of the human body, which are na-

turally match'd, and muſt appear in company: the ſection, if unſkilfully made, being in reality horrid, and repreſenting rather an *amputation* in ſurgery, than a ſeemly *diviſion* or *ſeparation* according to *art*. And thus it is, that in general, thro all the plaſtick arts, or works of imitation, "Whatſo-"ever is drawn from nature, with the intention of "raiſing in us the imagination of the natural ſpe-"cies or object, according to real *beauty* and "*truth*, ſhou'd be compriz'd in certain compleat "portions or diſtricts, which repreſent the corre-"ſpondency or union of each *part* of nature, with "*intire* NATURE *her ſelf*." And tis this natural apprehenſion, or anticipating ſenſe of *unity*, which makes us give even to the works of our inferiour artizans, the name of *pieces* by way of excellence, and as denoting the *juſtneſs* and *truth* of work.

(3.) IN order therefore to ſucceed rightly in the formation of any thing truly beautiful in this higher order of deſign; 'twere to be wiſh'd that the artiſt, who had underſtanding enough to comprehend what a *real piece* or *tablature* imported, and who, in order to this, had acquir'd the knowledg of a *whole* and *parts*, wou'd afterwards apply himſelf to the ſtudy of *moral* and *poetick truth:* that by this means the thoughts, ſentiments, or *manners*, which hold the firſt rank in his hiſtorical work, might appear ſutable to the higher and nobler ſpecies of humanity in which he practis'd, to the genius of the age which he deſcrib'd, and to the principal or main action which he choſe to repreſent. He wou'd then naturally learn to reject thoſe falſe ornaments of *affected graces*, *exaggerated paſſions*, *hyperbolical* and *prodigious forms;* which equally with the mere *capricious* and *groteſque*, deſtroy the juſt *ſimplicity*, and *unity*, eſſential in a PIECE. And for his *colouring;* he wou'd then ſoon find how much it became him to be reſerv'd, ſevere, and chaſte, in this particular of his art;

where luxury and libertiniſm are, by the power of faſhion and the modern taſte, become ſo univerſally eſtabliſh'd.

(4.) 'TIS evident however from reaſon it-ſelf, as well as from * hiſtory and experience, that nothing is more fatal, either to painting, architecture, or the other arts, than this *falſe reliſh*, which is govern'd rather by what immediately ſtrikes the ſenſe, than by what conſequentially and by reflection pleaſes the mind, and ſatisfies the thought and reaſon. So that whilſt we look on *painting* with the ſame eye, as we view commonly the rich ſtuffs, and colour'd ſilks worn by our ladys, and admir'd in dreſs, equipage, or furniture, we muſt of neceſſity be effeminate in our taſte, and utterly ſet wrong as to all judgment and knowledg in the kind. For of this *imitative art* we may juſtly ſay; "That tho it borrows help indeed from colours, "and uſes them, as means, to execute its deſigns; "It has nothing, however, more wide of its real "aim, or more remote from its intention, than "to make a *ſhew* of colours, or from their mix-"ture, to raiſe a † *ſeparate* and *flattering* plea-"ſure to the SENSE."

* See VITRUVIUS and PLINY.

† *The pleaſure is plainly foreign and* ſeparate; *as having no concern or ſhare in the proper delight or entertainment which naturally ariſes from the ſubject, and workmanſhip it-ſelf. For the ſubject, in reſpect of pleaſure, as well as ſcience, is abſolutely compleated, when the deſign is executed, and the propos'd imitation once accompliſh'd. And thus it always is the beſt, when the colours are moſt ſubdu'd, and made ſubſervient.*

A

LETTER

CONCERNING THE

ART, or SCIENCE

OF

DESIGN,

Written from ITALY, on the occaſion of

The Judgment *of* HERCULES,

TO

MY LORD * * *

——— *Ante omnia Muſae.*

VIRG. Georg. lib. ii.

A

LETTER

CONCERNING

DESIGN.

My Lord,

THIS letter comes to your Lordſhip, accompany'd with a ſmall writing intitled A NOTION: for ſuch alone can that piece deſervedly be call'd, which aſpires no higher than to the forming of a *project*, and that too in ſo vulgar a ſcience as *painting*. But whatever the ſubject be, if it can prove any way entertaining to you, it will ſufficiently anſwer my deſign. And if poſſible it may have that good ſucceſs, I ſhou'd have no ordinary opinion of my project; ſince I know how hard it wou'd be to give your Lordſhip a real entertainment by any thing which was not in ſome reſpect worthy and uſeful.

ON this account I muſt, by way of prevention, inform your Lordſhip, that after I had conceiv'd my NOTION ſuch as you ſee it upon paper, I was not contented with this, but fell directly to work; and by the hand of a maſter-painter brought it into *practice*, and form'd a real *deſign*. This was not enough. I reſolv'd afterwards to ſee what

effect it wou'd have, when taken out of mere black-and-white, into colours: and thus a *ſketch* was afterwards drawn. This pleas'd ſo well, that being incourag'd by the *virtuoſi*, who are ſo eminent in this part of the world, I reſolv'd at laſt to engage my painter in the great work. Immediately a cloth was beſpoke of a ſutable dimenſion, and the figures taken as big or bigger than the common life; the ſubject being of the heroick kind; and requiring rather ſuch figures as ſhou'd appear above ordinary human ſtature.

THUS my NOTION, as light as it may prove in the *treatiſe*, is become very ſubſtantial in the *workmanſhip*. The piece is ſtill in hand; and like to continue ſo for ſome time. Otherwiſe the firſt draught or deſign ſhou'd have accompany'd the treatiſe; as the treatiſe does this letter. But the *deſign* having grown thus into a *ſketch*, and the ſketch afterwards into a *picture*; I thought it fit your lordſhip ſhou'd either ſee the ſeveral pieces together, or be troubled only with that which was the beſt; as undoubtedly the great one muſt prove, if the maſter I employ ſinks not very much below himſelf, in this performance.

FAR ſurely ſhou'd I be, my Lord, from conceiving any vanity or pride in amuſements of ſuch an inferior kind as theſe; eſpecially were they ſuch as they may naturally at firſt ſight appear. I pretend not here to apologize either for *them*, or for *my-ſelf*. Your Lordſhip however knows, I have naturally ambition enough to make me deſirous of employing my-ſelf in buſineſs of a higher order: ſince it has been my fortune in publick affairs to act often in concert with you, and in the ſame views, on the intereſt of EUROPE and mankind. There was a time, and that a very early one of my life, when I was not wanting to my country, in this reſpect. But after ſome years of hearty labour and pains in this kind of workmanſhip, an unhap-

py breach in my health drove me not only from the ſeat of buſineſs, but forc'd me to ſeek theſe foreign climates; where, as mild as winters generally are, I have with much ado liv'd out this *latter-one*; and am now, as your Lordſhip finds, employing my ſelf in ſuch eaſy ſtudys as are moſt ſutable to my ſtate of health, and to the genius of the country where I am confin'd.

THIS in the mean time I can, with ſome aſſurance, ſay to your Lordſhip in a kind of ſpirit of prophecy, from what I have obſerv'd of the riſing genius of our nation, That if we live to ſee a peace any way anſwerable to that generous ſpirit with which this war was begun, and carry'd on, for our *own* liberty and that of EUROPE; the figure we are like to make abroad, and the increaſe of knowledg, induſtry and ſenſe at home, will render *united* BRITAIN the principal ſeat of arts; and by her politeneſs and advantages in this kind, will ſhew evidently, how much ſhe owes to thoſe counſels, which taught her to exert herſelf ſo reſolutely in behalf of the *common cauſe*, and that of her own *liberty*, and happy *conſtitution*, neceſſarily included.

I CAN my-ſelf remember the time, when, in reſpect of MUSICK, our reigning taſte was in many degrees inferior to the *French*. The long reign of luxury and pleaſure under king CHARLES the ſecond, and the foreign helps and ſtudy'd advantages given to *muſick* in a following reign, cou'd not raiſe our genius the leaſt in this reſpect. But when the ſpirit of the nation was grown more *free*, tho engag'd at that time in the fierceſt war, and with the moſt doubtful ſucceſs, we no ſooner began to turn our-ſelves towards *muſick*, and enquire what ITALY in particular produc'd, than in an inſtant we outſtrip'd our neighbours the FRENCH, enter'd into a genius far beyond theirs,

and rais'd our-ſelves an *ear*, and *judgment*, not inferiour to the beſt now in the world.

In the ſame manner, as to PAINTING. Tho we have as yet nothing of our own native growth in this kind worthy of being mention'd; yet ſince the publick has of late begun to expreſs a reliſh for ingravings, drawings, copyings, and for the original paintings of the chief *Italian* ſchools, (ſo contrary to the modern *French*) I doubt not that, in very few years, we ſhall make an equal progreſs in this other ſcience. And when our humour turns us to cultivate theſe deſigning arts, our genius, I am perſuaded, will naturally carry us over the ſlighter amuſements, and lead us to that higher, more ſerious, and noble part of *imitation*, which relates to *hiſtory*, *human nature*, and *the chief degree or order of* BEAUTY; I mean that of the *rational* life, diſtinct from the merely *vegetable* and *ſenſible*, as in animals, or plants; according to thoſe ſeveral degrees or orders of painting, which your Lordſhip will find ſuggeſted in this extemporary *notion* I have ſent you.

As for ARCHITECTURE, 'tis no wonder if ſo many noble deſigns of this kind have miſcarry'd amongſt us; ſince the genius of our nation has hitherto been ſo little turn'd this way, that thro ſeveral reigns we have patiently ſeen the nobleſt publick buildings periſh (if I may ſay ſo) under the hand of one ſingle court-architect; who, if he had been able to profit by experience, wou'd long ſince, at our expence, have prov'd the greateſt maſter in the world. But I queſtion whether our patience is like to hold much longer. The devaſtation ſo long committed in this kind, has made us begin to grow rude and clamorous at the hearing of a new palace ſpoilt, or a new deſign committed to ſome raſh or impotent pretender.

'Tis the good fate of our nation in this particular, that there remain yet two of the nobleſt

ſubjects for architecture; our prince's *palace*, and our *houſe of parliament*. For I can't but fanſy that when *Whitehall* is thought of, the neighbouring *Lords* and *Commons* will at the ſame time be plac'd in better chambers and apartments, than at preſent; were it only for majeſty's ſake, and as a magnificence becoming the perſon of the prince, who here appears in full ſolemnity. Nor do I fear that when theſe new ſubjects are attempted, we ſhou'd miſcarry as groſly as we have done in others before. Our *ſtate*, in this reſpect, may prove perhaps more fortunate than our *church*, in having waited till a national taſte was form'd, before theſe edifices were undertaken. But the zeal of the nation cou'd not, it ſeems, admit ſo long a delay in their eccleſiaſtical ſtructures, particularly their *metropolitan*. And ſince a zeal of this ſort has been newly kindled amongſt us, 'tis like we ſhall ſee from afar the many ſpires ariſing in our great city, with ſuch haſty and ſudden growth, as may be the occaſion perhaps that our immediate reliſh ſhall be hereafter cenſur'd, as retaining much of what artiſts call the *Gothick* kind.

HARDLY, indeed, as the publick now ſtands, ſhou'd we bear to ſee a *Whitehall* treated like a *Hampton-Court*, or even a new cathedral like St. PAUL'S. Almoſt every-one now becomes concern'd, and intereſts himſelf in ſuch publick ſtructures. Even thoſe pieces too are brought under the common cenſure, which, tho rais'd by private men, are of ſuch a grandure and magnificence, as to become national ornaments. The ordinary man may build his cottage, or the plain gentleman his country-houſe according as he fanſys: but when a great man builds, he will find little quarter from the publick, if inſtead of a beautiful pile, he raiſes, at a vaſt expence, ſuch a falſe and counterfeit piece of magnificence, as can be juſtly arraign'd for its deformity by ſo many knowing men in art, and by

the whole *people*, who, in ſuch a conjuncture, readily follow their opinion.

In reality *the people* are no ſmall partys in this *cauſe*. Nothing moves ſucceſsfully without 'em. There can be no PUBLICK, but where they are included. And without a *publick voice*, knowingly guided and directed, there is nothing which can raiſe a true ambition in the artiſt; nothing which can exalt the genius of the workman, or make him emulous of after-fame, and of the approbation of his *country*, and of *poſterity*. For with *theſe* he naturally, as a *freeman*, muſt take part: in *theſe* he has a paſſionate concern, and intereſt, rais'd in him by the ſame genius of *liberty*, the ſame *laws* and *government*, by which this property, and the rewards of his pains and induſtry are ſecur'd to him, and to his generation after him.

Every thing co-operates, in ſuch a *ſtate*, towards the improvement of *art* and *ſcience*. And for the *deſigning arts* in particular, ſuch as *architecture*, *painting*, and *ſtatuary*, they are in a manner link'd together. The taſte of one kind brings neceſſarily that of the others along with it. When the *free* ſpirit of a nation turns it-ſelf this way, judgments are form'd; criticks ariſe; the publick eye and ear improve; a right taſte prevails, and in a manner forces its way. Nothing is ſo improving, nothing ſo natural, ſo *congenial* to the liberal arts, as that reigning liberty and high ſpirit of a people, which from the habit of judging in the higheſt matters for themſelves, makes 'em freely judg of other ſubjects, and enter thorowly into the characters as well of *men* and *manners*, as of the *products* or *works* of men, in art and ſcience. So much, my Lord, do we owe to the excellence of our national conſtitution, and legal monarchy; happily fitted for us, and which alone cou'd hold together ſo mighty a people; all ſharers (tho at ſo far a diſtance from each other) in the government

of *themſelves*; and meeting under *one* head in *one* vaſt *metropolis*; whoſe enormous growth however cenſurable in other reſpects, is actually a cauſe that workmanſhip and arts of ſo many kinds ariſe to ſuch perfection.

WHAT encouragement our higher powers may think fit to give theſe growing arts, I will not pretend to gueſs. This I know, that 'tis ſo much for their advantage and intereſt to make themſelves the chief partys in the cauſe, that I wiſh no court or miniſtry, beſides a truly virtuous and wiſe one, may ever concern themſelves in the affair. For ſhou'd they do ſo, they wou'd in reality do more harm than good; ſince 'tis not the nature of a court (ſuch as courts generally are) to improve, but rather corrupt a *taſte*. And what is in the beginning ſet wrong by their example, is hardly ever afterwards recoverable in the genius of a nation.

CONTENT therefore I am, my Lord, that BRITAIN ſtands in this reſpect as ſhe now does. Nor can one, methinks, with juſt reaſon regret her having hitherto made no greater advancement in theſe affairs of art. As her *conſtitution* has grown, and been eſtabliſh'd, ſhe has in proportion fitted her-ſelf for other improvements. There has been no anticipation in the caſe. And in this ſurely ſhe muſt be eſteem'd wiſe, as well as happy; that ere ſhe attempted to raiſe her ſelf any other taſte or reliſh, ſhe ſecur'd her-ſelf a right one in *government*. She has now the advantage of beginning in other matters, on a new foot. She has her *models* yet to ſeek, her *ſcale* and *ſtandard* to form, with deliberation and good choice. Able enough ſhe is at preſent to ſhift for herſelf; however abandon'd or helpleſs ſhe has been left by thoſe whom it became to aſſiſt her. Hardly, indeed, cou'd ſhe procure a ſingle *academy* for the training of her youth in exerciſes. As good ſoldiers as we

are, and as good horſes as our climate affords, our princes, rather than expend their treaſure this way, have ſuffer'd our youth to paſs into a foreign nation, to learn to ride. As for other academys, ſuch as thoſe for painting, ſculpture, or architecture, we have not ſo much as heard of the propoſal; whilſt the prince of our rival nation raiſes academys, breeds youth, and ſends rewards and penſions into foreign countrys, to advance the intereſt and credit of his own. Now if, notwithſtanding the induſtry and pains of this foreign court, and the ſupine un-concernedneſs of our own, the national taſte however riſes, and already ſhews it-ſelf in many reſpects beyond that of our ſo highly-aſſiſted neighbours; what greater proof can there be of the ſuperiority of genius in one of theſe nations above the other?

'Tis but this moment that I chance to read in an article of one of the gazettes from PARIS, that 'tis reſolv'd at court to eſtabliſh a new *academy* for political affairs. "In it the preſent chief-"miniſter is to preſide; having under him ſix aca-"demiſts, *douëz des talens néceſſaires* —— No "perſon to be receiv'd under the age of twenty-"five. A thouſand livres penſion for each ſcho-"lar —— Able maſters to be appointed for teach-"ing them the neceſſary ſciences, and inſtructing "them in the treatys of peace and alliances, which "have been formerly made —— The members "to aſſemble three times a week —— *C'eſt de ce "ſeminaire* (ſays the writer) *qu'on tirera les ſe-"cretaires d'ambaſſade; qui par degrez pourront "monter à de plus hauts emplois.*"

I MUST confeſs, my Lord, as great an admirer as I am of theſe regular inſtitutions, I can't but look upon *an academy for miniſters* as a very extraordinary eſtabliſhment; eſpecially in ſuch a monarchy as FRANCE, and at ſuch a conjuncture as the preſent. It looks as if the miniſters of that

court had diſcover'd lately ſome new methods of negotiation, ſuch as their predeceſſors RICHLIEU and MAZARINE never thought of; or that, on the contrary, they have found themſelves ſo declin'd, and at ſuch a loſs in the management of this preſent treaty, as to be forc'd to take their leſſon from ſome of thoſe miniſters with whom they treat: a reproach, of which, no doubt, they muſt be highly ſenſible.

BUT 'tis not my deſign here, to entertain your Lordſhip with any reflections upon politicks, or the methods which the FRENCH may take to raiſe themſelves *new* miniſters, or *new* generals; who may prove a better match for us than hitherto, whilſt we held our *old*. I will only ſay to your Lordſhip on this ſubject of *academys;* that indeed I have leſs concern for the deficiency of ſuch a one as this, than of any other which cou'd be thought of, for ENGLAND; and that as for a ſeminary of *ſtateſmen*, I doubt not but, without this extraordinary help, we ſhall be able, out of our *old* ſtock, and the common courſe of buſineſs, conſtantly to furniſh a ſufficient number of well-qualify'd perſons to ſerve upon occaſion, either at home, or in our foreign treatys; as often as ſuch perſons accordingly qualify'd ſhall duly, honeſtly, and *bona fide* be requir'd to ſerve.

I RETURN therefore to my *virtuoſo*-ſcience; which being my chief amuſement in this place and circumſtance, your Lordſhip has by it a freſh inſtance that I can never employ my thoughts with ſatiſfaction on any ſubject, without making you a party. For even this very NOTION had its riſe chiefly from the converſation of a certain day, which I had the happineſs to paſs a few years ſince in the country with your Lordſhip. 'Twas there you ſhew'd me ſome ingravings, which had been ſent you from ITALY. One in particular I well remember; of which the ſubject was the very ſame with that

of my written NOTION inclos'd. But by what hand it was done, or after what maſter, or how executed, I have quite forgot. 'Twas the ſummer-ſeaſon, when you had receſs from buſineſs. And I have accordingly calculated this *epiſtle* and *project* for the ſame receſs and leiſure. For by the time this can reach ENGLAND, the ſpring will be far advanc'd, and the national affairs in a manner over, with thoſe who are not in *the immediate adminiſtration*.

WERE *that* indeed your Lordſhip's lot, at preſent; I know not whether in regard to my country I ſhou'd dare throw ſuch amuſements as theſe in your way. Yet even in this caſe, I wou'd venture to ſay however, in defence of my project, and of the *cauſe of painting*; that cou'd my young hero come to your Lordſhip as well repreſented as he might have been, either by the hand of a * MARAT or a JORDANO, (the maſters who were in being, and in repute, when I firſt travel'd here in ITALY) the *picture* it-ſelf, whatever the *treatiſe* prov'd, wou'd have been worth notice, and might have become a preſent worthy of our court, and prince's *palace*; eſpecially were it ſo bleſs'd as to lodge within it a royal iſſue of her majeſty's. Such a piece of furniture might well fit the gallery, or hall of exerciſes, where our young princes ſhou'd learn their uſual leſſons. And to ſee VIRTUE in this garb and action, might perhaps be no ſlight memorandum hereafter to a *royal youth*, who ſhou'd one day come to undergo this trial himſelf; on which his own happineſs, as well as the fate of EUROPE and of the world, wou'd in ſo great a meaſure depend.

* *Carlo Marat* was yet alive, at the time this letter was written; but had been long ſuper-annuated, and incapable of any conſiderable performance.

THIS, my Lord, is making (as you ſee) the moſt I can of my *project*, and ſetting off my amuſements with the beſt colour I am able; that I may be the more excuſable in communicating them to your Lordſhip, and expreſſing thus, with what zeal I am,

MY LORD,

Your Lordſhip's

Naples, March 6.
N. S. 1712.

moſt faithful

humble ſervant,

SHAFTESBURY.

LETTERS

OF THE EARL OF

SHAFTESBURY,

AUTHOR OF THE

CHARACTERISTICKS.

Printed in the YEAR, M. DCC. LVIII.

LETTERS

OF THE EARL OF

SHAFTESBURY,

TO A

STUDENT

AT THE

UNIVERSITY.

Printed first in the Year MDCCXVI.

LETTER I.

Feb. 24th, 1706-7.

I ACCEPT kindly the offer of your correſpondence, and chiefly, as it comes from you with heartineſs, and (the beſt of characters) SIMPLICITY. When this diſpoſition of heart attends our ſearches into learning and philoſophy; we need not fear being *vainly puff'd up*, or falling into that falſe way of wiſdom, which the ſcripture calls *vain philoſophy*. When the improvement of our minds, and the advancement of our reaſon, is all we aim at; and this only to fit us for a perfecter, more rational, and worthier ſervice of GOD; we can have no ſcruples, whether or no the work be an acceptable one to him. But where neither our duty to mankind, nor obedience to our CREATOR, is any way the end or object of our ſtudies or exerciſes; be they ever ſo curious or exquiſite, they may be juſtly ſtiled *vain*; and often the vainer, for carrying with them the falſe ſhew of excellence and ſuperiority.

ON this account, tho' there be no part of learning more advantageous even towards divinity, than logicks, metaphyſicks, and what we call *univerſity-learning*; yet nothing proves more dangerous to young minds unforewarn'd, or, what is worſe, prepoſſeſs'd, with the excellency of ſuch learning; as if all wiſdom lay in the ſolution of thoſe

Let. 1. riddles of the ſchool-men, who, in the laſt ages of the church, found out an effectual way to deſtroy religion by philoſophy, and render reaſon and philoſophy ridiculous, under that garb they had put on it. If your circumſtances or condition ſuffer you to enter into the world by a univerſity; well is it for you, that you have prevented ſuch pre-poſſeſſion.

HOWEVER, I am not ſorry, that I lent you Mr. LOCKE's *eſſay of human underſtanding*; which may as well qualify for buſineſs and the world, as for the ſciences and a univerſity. No one has done more towards the recalling of philoſophy from barbarity, into uſe and practice of the world, and into the company of the better and politer ſort; who might well be aſhamed of it in its other dreſs. No one has opened a better or clearer way to *reaſoning*. And above all, I wonder to hear him cenſur'd ſo much by any church of ENGLAND-men, for advancing reaſon, and bringing the uſe of it ſo much into religion; when it is by this only that we fight againſt the *enthuſiaſts*, and repel the great enemies of our church. 'Tis by this weapon alone that we combat thoſe *viſionaries*, who in the laſt age broke in ſo foully upon us, and are now (pretendedly at leaſt) eſteemed ſo terrible and *dangerous*.

BUT tho' I am one of thoſe, who in theſe truly happy times eſteem our church as wholly *out of danger*; yet ſhould we hearken to thoſe men, who diſclaim this uſe of reaſon in religion, we muſt lay our ſelves open afreſh to all phanaticks. For what elſe is PHANATICISM? Where does the ſtreſs of their cauſe lie? Are not their unintelligible motions of the Spirit; their unexpreſſible pretended feelings, apprehenſions, and lights within; their inſpirations in prophecy, extempore prayer, preaching, *&c.* are not theſe, I ſay, the foundations, on which they build their cauſe? Are not our *cold*

dead reaſonings, (as they call them,) a reproach and ſtumbling block to them; if you will believe their leaders, who are inſtantly cut off from all their pretences to gifts and ſpirits, and ſupernatural graces; if they are once brought to the teſt of cool reaſon and deliberate examination? And can we thus give up our cauſe, by giving up reaſon? Shall we give them up our TILLOTSONS, our BARROWS, our CHILLINGWORTHS, our HAMMONDS? For what leſs is it to give up this way of reaſon ſo much decryed by thoſe condemners of Mr. LOCKE? But ſuch is the ſpirit of ſome men in controverſial matters. A certain noted clergy-man of learning and ability, and great reputed zeal, a great enemy of Mr. LOCKE, has (as I am lately told) turn'd rigid *Calviniſt*, as to all the points of *predeſtination*, *free-grace*, &c. and not only this clergyman, but ſeveral more in the univerſity of that *high party*, who ran as high in oppoſition to CALVINISM but one reign or two ſince. The reaſon of this is but too obvious. Our biſhops and dignify'd church-men, (the moſt worthily and juſtly dignify'd of any in any age,) are, as they ever were, inclinable to moderation in the high *Calviniſtick* points. But they are alſo inclinable to moderation in other points. Let. 1.

Hinc illæ lachrymæ.

THEY are for toleration, *inviolable toleration*; (as our QUEEN nobly and *Chriſtianly* ſaid it, in her ſpeech a year or two ſince:) and this is it-ſelf intolerable with our high gentlemen, who deſpiſe the gentleneſs of their lord and maſter, and the ſweet mild government of our QUEEN, preferring rather that abominable blaſphemous repreſentative of church power, attended with the worſt of temporal governments, as we ſee it in perfection of each kind in FRANCE. From this, and from

Let. 1. its abettors of every kind and in every way, I pray GOD deliver us, whilſt we are duly thankful for what in his providence he has already done towards it, and to the happineſs and glory of our excellent QUEEN and country. So farewel. I am your good friend to ſerve you,

S******

LETTER II.

May 10th, 1707.

SINCE your diſpoſition inclines you ſo ſtrongly towards univerſity-learning; and your ſound exerciſe of your reaſon, and the integrity of your heart, give good aſſurance againſt the narrow principles, and contagious manner of thoſe corrupted places, whence all noble and *free* principles ought rather to be propagated; I ſhall not be wanting to you on my part; when I ſhall ſee the fruit of your ſtudies, life, and converſation, anſwerable to thoſe good ſeeds of principles you ſeem to carry in you.

I AM glad to find your love of reaſon and *free thought*. Your piety and virtue, I know, you will always keep; eſpecially ſince your deſires and natural inclinations are towards ſo ſerious a ſtation in life, which others undertake too ſlightly, and without examining their hearts.

PRAY GOD direct you, and confirm your good beginnings, and in the practice of *virtue* and *religion*; aſſuring your ſelf, that the higheſt principle, which is *the love of* GOD, is beſt attained not by dark ſpeculations and *monkiſh philoſophy*, but by moral practice, and love of mankind, and a ſtudy of their intereſts: the chief of which, and that which only raiſes them above the degree of brutes, is *freedom of reaſon* in the learned world, and good government and *liberty* in the civil world. Tyranny in one is ever accompanied, or ſoon followed, by tyranny in the other. And when ſlave-

Let. 2. ry is brought upon a people, they are ſoon reduced to that baſe and brutal ſtate, both in their underſtandings and morals.

TRUE zeal therefore for GOD, or religion, muſt be ſupported by real love for mankind: and love of mankind cannot conſiſt but with a right knowledge of man's great intereſts, and of the only way and means, (that of liberty and freedom,) which GOD and nature has made neceſſary and eſſential to his manly dignity and character. They therefore, who betray theſe principles, and the rights of mankind, betray religion, even ſo as to make it an inſtrument againſt it-ſelf.

BUT I muſt have done, and am your good friend to ſerve you,

S*******.

LETTER III.

November 19th, 1707.

TRULY, if your heart correſpond intirely with your pen; and if you thoroughly feel thoſe good principles you have expreſs'd; I cannot but have a great increaſe of kindneſs and eſteem for you.

IMAGINE not, that I ſuſpect you of ſo mean a thing, as hypocriſy or affected virtue: I am fully ſatisfied you mean and intend what you write. But alas! the misfortune of *youth*, and not of youth merely, but of human nature, is ſuch, that it is a thouſand times eaſier to frame the higheſt ideas of virtue and goodneſs, than to practiſe the leaſt part. And perhaps this is one of the chief reaſons, why virtue is ſo ill practiſed; becauſe the impreſſions, which ſeem ſo ſtrong at firſt, are too far rely'd on. We are apt to think, that what appears ſo fair, and ſtrikes us ſo forcibly, at the firſt view, will ſurely hold with us. We launch forth into *ſpeculation*; and after a time, when we look back, and ſee how ſlowly *practice* comes up to it; we are the ſooner led to deſpondency, the higher we had carried our views before.

REMEMBER, therefore, to reſtrain your ſelf within due bounds; and to adapt your contemplation to what you are capable of practiſing. For there is a ſort of *ſpiritual ambition*: and in reading thoſe truly divine authors, whom you have ſometimes cited to me, I have obſerv'd many to

Let. 3. have miſcarried by too fervent and eager a purſuit of ſuch perfection.

GLAD I am, however, that you are not one of thoſe dull ſouls, that are incapable of any ſpiritual refinement. I rejoice to ſee you raiſe your ſelf above the rank of fordid and ſenſual ſpirits, who, tho ſet apart and deſtin'd to *ſpirituals*, underſtand not, that there is any thing preparatory to it, beyond a little ſcholarſhip and knowledge of *forms*. I rejoice to ſee, that you think of other preparations, and another diſcipline of the heart and mind, than what is thought of amongſt that indolent and ſupine race of men.

YOU are ſenſible, I perceive, that there is another ſort of ſtudy, a profounder meditation, which becomes thoſe, who are to ſet an example to mankind, and fit themſelves to expound and teach thoſe ſhort and ſummary precepts, and divine laws, deliver'd to us in poſitive commands by our *ſacred* LEGISLATOR.

'TIS our buſineſs, and of all, as many as are raiſed in knowledge above the poor illiterate and laborious vulgar, to explain, as far as poſſible, the reaſons of thoſe laws; their conſent with the law of nature; their ſuitableneſs to ſociety, and to the peace, happineſs, and enjoyment of our ſelves. 'Tis there alone that we have need of recourſe to *fire* and *brimſtone*, and what other puniſhments the divine goodneſs (for our good) has condeſcended to threaten us with; where the force of theſe arguments cannot prevail.

OUR buſineſs within our ſelves, is to ſet our ſelves *free*, according to that *perfect law of liberty*, which we are bid *to look into*. And I am delighted to read theſe words from you, *viz.* that we are made to contemplate and love GOD *entirely*, and with a *free* and voluntary love. But this, you well ſee, is a myſtery too deep for thoſe ſouls, whom you converſe with, and ſee a-

round you. They have ſcarce heard of what it is to combat with their appetites and ſenſes. They think themſelves ſufficiently juſtify'd, *as men*; and ſufficiently qualified, as *holy men*, and *teachers of* RELIGION; if they can compaſs matters, by help of circumſtances and outward fortune, ſo as happily to reſtrain theſe luſts and appetites of theirs within the bounds of ordinary human laws. Hence *thoſe allurements of external objects* (as you well remark) they are ſo far from declining, that they rather raiſe and advance them by all poſſible means, without fear of adding fuel to their inflam'd deſires, in a heart, which can never burn towards GOD, till thoſe other fires are extinct. Let. 3.

GOD grant, that ſince you know this better way, this chaſte and holy diſcipline, you may ſtill purſue it, with that juſt and pious jealouſy over your own heart, that neither your eyes, nor any of your ſenſes, may be led away to ſerve themſelves, or any thing, but that CREATOR, who made them for his ſervice, and in whom alone is happineſs and reſt.

I WISH you well, and ſhall be glad to hear ſtill of you.

&c. &c. &c.

LETTER IV.

April 2d, 1708.

I HAVE received yours every week, and am highly ſatisfied with your thoughts; not doubting but they are truly your own and natural, as well as your manner of expreſſing them: for in this I would have you keep an intire freedom, and deliver your ſentiments ſtill nakedly, and without art or ornament. For it is the *heart* I look for: and tho' the ornaments of ſtile are what you are obliged to ſtudy and practiſe on other occaſions; the leſs you regard 'em, and the greater *ſimplicity* you diſcover in writing privately to my ſelf, the greater my ſatisfaction is, and the more becoming the part you have to act.

I WAS particularly pleas'd with your thoughts and reaſonings on CHRISTIAN LIBERTY, and the zeal you ſhew for that noble principle, by which we ceaſe to be ſlaves and drudges in religion; and, by being reconciled to our duty, and to the excellence of thoſe precepts and injunctions, which tend abſolutely to our good and happineſs in every reſpect, we become *liberal ſervants and children of* GOD.

A MIND thus releaſed and ſet at liberty, if it once ſees its real good, will hardly be deprived of it, or diſhearten'd in the purſuit, whatever diſcouragement ſurrounds it. 'Tis the inward enemy alone can ſtop it. For when a mind, ſet free from *voluntary error*, and *ſelf-darkening conceit*,

aſpires to what is generous and deſerving; nothing, Let. 4.
but what is vile and ſlaviſh from within, can deaden it: nothing, but a baſe love of inward ſlavery, and an adherence to our vices and corruptions, is able to effect this.

In ſome, who are horridly degenerate, this ſubmiſſion is wholly voluntary. Self-intereſt leads them; whether it be a private one of their own; or in ſociety and confederacy with ſome *faction* or *party*, to the ſupport of *temporal ends*. In this caſe it carries a ſpecious ſhew of *publick good*; whether it be in CHURCH, or STATE. And thus it is often the occaſion of an open denyal of reaſon, and of a bare-fac'd oppoſition to the *glorious ſearch of* TRUTH.

In others 'tis mere ſloth and lazyneſs, or ſordid appetite and luſt, which bringing them under the power of ſin and ignorance, fits them for *political ſervitude* by *moral proſtitution*. For when the tyranny of luſt and paſſion can be indulgently permitted, and even eſteem'd a happineſs; no wonder if *liberty of thought* be in little eſteem. Every thing civil or ſpiritual of this kind muſt needs be diſregarded, or rather look'd upon with jealouſy and apprehenſion.

For one tyranny ſupports another: one ſlavery helps and miniſters to another. Vice miniſters to ſuperſtition; and a gainful miniſtreſs ſhe is: ſuperſtition, on the other hand, returns the kindneſs, and will not be ungrateful. Superſtition ſupports perſecution, and perſecution ſuperſtition.

Vice and intemperance is but an inward perſecution. 'Tis here, the violence begins. Here *truth* is firſt *held in unrighteouſneſs*, and the νοερον, *reaſon, the knowable, the intelligible, the divine part* is perſecuted and impriſon'd. Thoſe, who ſubmit to this tyranny, in time, not only come to like it, but plead for it, and think the law of virtue tyrannical and againſt nature.

Let. 4. So in the abſolute governments of the world: nations, that ſubmit to arbitrary rule, love even their form of government; if one may call that a *form*, which is without any, and, like vice it ſelf, knows neither law nor order.

In this ſtate the mind helps forward the ill work. For when reaſon, as an antagoniſt to vice, is become an inward enemy, and has once loſt her intereſt with the ſoul, by oppoſing every *favourite paſſion*; ſhe will then be ſoon expell'd another province, and lie under ſuſpicion for every attempt ſhe makes upon the mind. She is preſently miſcall'd and abus'd. She is thought *notional* in the underſtanding, *whimſical* in company, *ſeditious* in the ſtate, *heretical* in the church. Even in philoſophy, her own proper dominions, ſhe is look'd upon as none of the beſt companions: and here alſo authority is reſpected as the moſt convenient guide.

This we find to be the temper of *certain places*; where wit and ſenſe, however, are not wanting, nor learning of a *certain kind*. So that what is at the bottom of all this, is eaſily ſeen by thoſe, who ſee thoſe places, and can but make uſe of their eyes, to obſerve *manners* and *morals*.

'Tis pretty viſible indeed, that the original of all is in thoſe ſordid vices of ſloth, lazyneſs, and intemperance. This makes way for ambition: for how ſhould theſe be ſo illuſtriouſly maintained and vindicated, without large temporal power, and the umbrage of authority? hence it is, that thoſe *mother vices* are ſo indulgently treated in thoſe places; and that temperance and virtue are look'd upon with an evil eye, as *phanatically inclin'd*. For who, that is *morally free*, and has aſſerted his inward liberty, can ſee *truth* thus *held*, reaſon and ingenuity ſuppreſs'd, without ſome ſecret abhorrence and deteſtation?

But this you are happily appriz'd of; nor can

you miſcarry, or be turn'd aſide by impoſture, or aſſuming formality and pride of any kind. You know your liberty: uſe it, and be free. But uſe it as becomes you; with all due meekneſs and ſubmiſſion, as to outward carriage. 'Tis the inward man, that is to be reliev'd and reſcu'd from his chains. Others need not your admonition: nor is this your duty; but far contrary. Preſerve your ſelf from the contagion, and 'tis enough: a great taſk it is; and will appear ſo to you; if you are hearty in it, and concern'd for *the thing it ſelf*, not the *appearance*. For the inclination towards rebuke, and rectifying of others, which feels like zeal in us, is often the deceit of pride and ſelf-conceit, which finds this way to ſcreen it ſelf, and manage undiſcovered. Let. 4.

KEEP your virtue and honeſty to your ſelf: for if it be truly ſuch, it will be in no pain for being kept ſecret. And thus you may be ſafe, and in due time, perhaps, uſeful alſo to others. Learn to diſcourſe and reaſon with your ſelf, or, as you honeſtly do, in letters to me. Trouble not others; nor be provok'd to ſhew your ſentiments, and betray noble and generous truths to ſuch, as can neither bear them, nor thoſe, whom they ſuſpect to be in poſſeſſion of them.

MIND that, which is the chief of all, *liberty*: and ſubdue early your own temper and appetites. 'Twill then be time for higher ſpeculations, when thoſe wandring imaginations, vain conceits, and wanton thoughts of youth, are mortify'd and ſubdu'd. Religion then will have no enemy oppoſed to her; and, in ſpite of ſuperſtition, and all ſpiritual tyrannies of the world, will ſoon be found a joyful taſk, the pleaſanteſt of all lives, quite other, than as commonly repreſented.

LOOK chiefly to this practice: for this is always permitted you. This you can be employ'd in every hour; even when books and privacy are de-

Let. 4. ny'd you, and buſineſs and attendance requir'd. The more you are a ſervant in this ſenſe, the more you will partake of that chief liberty, which is learnt by obedience and ſubmiſſion. And thus even they, who perhaps, by their haughtineſs and harſhneſs, would render you a ſlave, and awe you into ſervile thoughts, will moſt of all contribute to your *manumiſſion*; if by their ſad example, they teach you (in meekneſs ſtill and humility) to deteſt the more their narrow, perſecuting, and bitter ſpirit, ſupported by their vices; and ſhew you evidently that great truth, that *tyranny can never be exercis'd, but by one, who is already a ſlave.*

BE aſſured therefore, that where the heart diſdains this *original corruption*, the mind will be its friend; and by delivering it from all ſpiritual bondage, will qualify it for a further progreſs; rewarding virtue by it ſelf. For of VIRTUE *there can be no* REWARD, *but of the ſame kind with it ſelf:* nothing can be ſuperadded to it. And even heaven itſelf can be no other, than the addition of grace to grace, virtue to virtue, and knowledge to knowledge; by which we may ſtill more and more comprehend the *chief* VIRTUE, and higheſt excellence, *the giver and diſpenſer of* ALL: to whom I commit you; and pray your ſtudies may be effectual. So farewell.

LETTER V.

January 28th, 1708-9.

I WAS that morning thinking with myſelf what was become of you; and almoſt reſolv'd to have you inquired of at your father's; when I received your very ſurprizing letter, which brought ſo good an account of your ſelf, and a proof how well you had ſpent your time, during this your long ſilence.

'TWAS providential, ſurely, that I ſhould happen once to ſpeak to you of the *Greek* language; when you aſked concerning the *foundations of learning*, and the ſource and fountain of thoſe lights we have, whether in *morality* or *divinity*. It was not poſſible for me to anſwer you deceitfully or ſlightly. I could not but point out to you where the ſpring-head lay. But as well as I can remember, I bad you not be diſcouraged: for by other channels, derived from thoſe fountains, you would be ſufficiently ſupply'd with the knowledge neceſſary for the ſolemn character, that lay before you.

YOU hearkened to me, it ſeems, with great attention and belief; and did reſolve to take no middle way. But little could I have thought, that you dar'd to have made your attempt on the other ſide, inſtead of drawing in your forces, and collecting your ſtrength and the remainder of your precious time, for what lay on this hither ſide. But ſince GOD would have it ſo; ſo be it: and I pray

Let. 5. GOD proſper you in your daring attempt, and bleſs you with true modeſty and ſimplicity in all the other endeavours and practices of your life, as you have had courage and mighty boldneſs in this one.

AND ſo, indeed, it may naturally happen, by the ſame good providence; ſince at the inſtant that you began this enterprize, you have fallen into ſuch excellent reading. And if, as you ſhew by your letter, SIMPLICIUS's *Comment* be your delight; even that alone is a ſufficient earneſt of your *ſoul*'s improvement, as well as of your *mind*'s; if ſuch a diſtinction may well be made: for alas! all that we call improvement of our minds, in dry and empty ſpeculation; all learning or whatever elſe, either in *theology* or other ſcience, which has not a direct tendency to render us *honeſter*, *milder*, *juſter*, and *better*, is far from being juſtly ſo call'd. And even all that philoſophy, which is built on the compariſon and compounding of *ideas*, complex, implex, reflex, and all that din and noiſe of metaphyſicks; all that pretended ſtudy and ſcience of nature call'd natural philoſophy, *Ariſtotelian*, *Carteſian*, or whatever elſe it be; all thoſe high contemplations of ſtars and ſpheres and planets; and all the other inquiſitive curious parts of learning, are ſo far from being neceſſary improvements of the mind, that without the utmoſt care they ſerve only to blow it up in conceit and folly, and render men more ſtiff in their ignorance and vices.

AND this brings into my thoughts a ſmall piece of true learning, which I think is generally bound up with SIMPLICIUS and EPICTETUS. 'Tis *the table*, (or picture,) *of* CEBES the *Socratick*, and elder diſciple of PLATO. This golden piece I would have you ſtudy, and have by heart; the *Greek* too being pure and excellent. And by this picture you will better underſtand my hint, and

know the *true learning* from that, which falſly paſſes under the name of wiſdom and ſcience. Let. 5.

As for the *divine* PLATO, I would not wiſh you, as yet, to go beyond a dialogue or two; and let thoſe be the *firſt* and *ſecond* ALCIBIADES. For now I will direct and aſſiſt you all I can, that you may gradually proceed, and not meet with ſtumbling-blocks in your way, or what, inſtead of forwarding, may retard you.

READ theſe pieces again and again. Suſpend for a while the reading of EPICTETUS: and read of MARCUS ANTONINUS only what you perfectly underſtand. Look into no commentator; tho' he has two very learned ones, GATAKER, and CASAUBON: and by no means ſtudy or ſo much as think on any of the paſſages, that create any difficulty or heſitation: but, as I tell you, keep to the plain and eaſy paſſages, which you may mark or write out, and ſo uſe on occaſion, as you walk or go about. For I reckon you are a good improver of your time, and that you manage every moment to advantage; elſe you could never have thus ſuddenly advanc'd ſo far as you have done.

BUT, in this caſe, you muſt take care of your health, by moving and uſing exerciſe; which makes me ſpeak of *walking*. For the mind muſt ſuffer in ſome ſenſe, when the body does. And ſtudents, who are over eager, and neglect this duty, hurt both their health and temper. The latter of which has a ſad influence on their minds; and makes them like ill veſſels, ſour whatever is put into them, tho' of ever ſo good a kind. For never do we more need a juſt chearfulneſs, *good humour*, or alacrity of mind, than when we are contemplating GOD and VIRTUE. [illegible]hat it may be aſſign'd as one cauſe of the auſterity and harſhneſs of ſome men's *divinity*, that in their habit of mind, and by that very moroſe and ſour temper,

Let. 5. which they contract with their hard ſtudies, they make the *idea of* GOD ſo much after the pattern of their own bitter ſpirit.

BUT, as I was ſaying concerning your progreſs; 'tis better for you to read in a ſmall compaſs what is good and excellent, and of eaſy conception, (without ſtop or difficulty, as to the ſpeculation) than to read *much* in *many*.

AND having thus confin'd you, as to *three* of your authors mentioned, and ſet your bounds; I proceed to the *fourth*, which is LUCIAN; with whom, for a very different reaſon, I would have you alſo read but here and there. For tho' he is one of the politeſt of writers of the latter age; he only has ſet himſelf out like the *jay* in the fable, with the ſpoils of thoſe excellent and divine works by way of *dialogue*; (which was the way, that antiently all the philoſophers wrote in;) moſt of which works are now loſt and periſhed: and I fear the true reaſon why LUCIAN was preſerved, inſtead of any of the other, was becauſe of the envy of the *Chriſtian* church, which ſoon began to be ſo corrupt; and finding this author to be ſo truly profane, and a ſcoffer of his own and all religions, they were contented to bear his immorality and diſſolute ſtyle and manners, only for the ſatisfaction of ſeeing the heathen religion ridiculed by a heathen, and the good and pious writers (unjuſtly ſtyl'd *prophane*) moſt monſtrouſly abus'd by a wretch, who was truly the moſt profane and impious; and who, at the ſame time, even in the pieces that are left of him in the ſame book, treats both MOSES and our SAVIOUR, and the whole *Chriſtian religion* as contemptibly, as he does his own. Therefore, as his dialogues of his *courtezans* are horridly vicious and licentious, and againſt all good manners; and as his dialogues of the *gods* are mere buffoonry, and his abuſe of PLATO, SOCRATES, and the reſt of thoſe divine heathens as

unjuſt and wicked, as really they are mean and ridiculous; I would not by any means have you to learn *Greek* at ſuch a coſt. There are ſome dialogues bound up, which are not of LUCIAN's: and theſe are the beſt. One concerning the *Cynicks* (whom he elſewhere ſo abuſes) is of that number, as I take it: and ſome pleaſant treatiſes there are beſides, all in pure *Greek*. Let. 5.

BUT here is the great and eſſential matter of the laſt conſequence to our ſouls and minds, to keep them from the contagion of *pleaſure*. And to ſhew you, that I am not by this an imitator of the ſevere *aſcetick monaſtick race of divines*, or an admirer of any thing, that looks like *reſtraint* in knowledge, or learning, or ſpeculation; conſider of this that I am going to ſay to you; and carry your reflection as far back, as to that firſt little glimmering of ingenuity, which ſhew'd it ſelf in you in your childhood; I mean the art of painting. Had you been to have made one of thoſe artiſts of the nobler kind, who paint hiſtory, and actions, and nature; and had you been ſent by me into ITALY, or elſewhere, to learn the ſtile and manner of the great maſters; what advice, think you, ſhould I have given you? I ſay, *what advice?* not as a *Chriſtian*, or *philoſopher*, or *man of virtue:* but merely as a lover of the art; ſuppoſing I had ever been of a very vicious life; and had had no other end in ſending you abroad, than to have procur'd pictures, and have got you a maſterly hand in that kind, and to have employ'd afterwards for my own uſe, and for the ornament of my houſe: moſt certainly my advice muſt have been this: (and thus any other maſter or patron of *common ſenſe* would have accoſted you:)

"YOU are now going to learn what is excellent "and beautiful in the way of painting. You will "go where there are many pictures of many dif-"ferent hands, and quite contrary in their *man-*

Let. 5. " *ner* and *ſtile*. You will find many judges " of different opinions: and the worſt maſters, " the worſt pieces, the worſt ſtyles and manners, " will have their admirers. How is it you ſhould " form your *reliſh?* By what means ſhall you " come to have a right admiration your ſelf, " and praiſe and imitate only what is truly exqui- " ſite and good in the kind? If you follow your " ſudden fancy and bent; if you fix your eye " on that, which moſt ſtrikes and pleaſes you at " the firſt ſight; you will moſt certainly never " come to have a *good eye* at all. You will be led " aſide, and have a florid, gay, fooliſh fancy; " and any lewd tawdry piece of dawbing will make " a ſtronger impreſſion on you, than the moſt ma- " jeſtick chaſte piece of the ſobereſt maſter; and " a FLEMISH, or a FRENCH *manner* will more " prevail with you, than a true ITALIAN.

" How ſhall we do then in this caſe? — Why " even thus: (for what way is there elſe?) make " it a ſolemn rule to your ſelf, to check your own " *eye* and fancy, which naturally leads to *gaiety*; " and turn it ſtrongly on that, which it cares " not at firſt to dwell upon. Be ſure that you " paſs by on every occaſion, whatever little idle " piece of a negligent looſe kind may be apt to " detain your eye; and fix your ſelf upon the no- " bler, more maſterly, and ſtudied pieces of ſuch, " as were known VIRTUOSOS, and admired by " all ſuch. If you find no grace or charm at the " firſt looking; look on; continue to obſerve all, " that you poſſibly can: and when you have got " one *glimpſe*; improve it; copy it; cultivate the " *idea*; and labour, till you have work'd your " ſelf into a *right* TASTE, and form'd a reliſh and " underſtanding of what is truly beautiful in the " kind."

THIS is what any ordinary maſter or patron of ommon good ſenſe would have ſaid to you, upon

your enterprize on painting: and this is what I now ſay to you, on your *great enterprize on* KNOWLEDGE *and* LEARNING. This is the reaſon I cry out to you againſt *pleaſure*; to beware of thoſe paths, which lead to a wrong knowledge, a wrong judgment of what is *ſupremely* BEAUTIFUL and GOOD. Let. 5.

YOUR endeavour and hope is to know GOD and goodneſs, in which alone there is true enjoyment and good. The way to this is not to put out your eyes, or hood-wink your ſelf, or lie in the dark, expecting to ſee viſions. No, you need not apologize for your ſelf, (as you do,) for deſiring to read ORIGEN, the good *father*, and beſt of all thoſe they call ſo. You ſhall not only, by my conſent, read ORIGEN, but even CELSUS himſelf, who was *a heathen*, and writ zealouſly againſt the *Chriſtians*, whom ORIGEN defends. So far am I from bidding you fly heretical, or heathen books, where good manners, honeſty, and fair reaſon ſhew themſelves. But where vice, ill manners, abuſive wit, and buffoonry appear; the prejudice is juſt: pronounce againſt ſuch authors; fly them, and condemn them.

PRESERVE your ſelf, and keep your *eye* and *judgment* clear. But if the eye be not open to all fair and handſome ſpectacles, how ſhould you learn what is *fair* and *handſome?* You would praiſe GOD: but how would you praiſe him? And for what? Know you, as yet, what true excellence is? The *attributes*, as you call them, which you have learnt in your *catechiſm*, or in the higher ſchools of the ſchool-men and divines; the attributes, I ſay, of JUSTICE, GOODNESS, WISDOM, and the like, are they really underſtood by you? Or do you talk of theſe by rote? if ſo; what is this but *giving words to* GOD, not praiſe, nor honour, nor glory? If the APOSTLE appeals to whatſoever is *lovely*, whatſoever is *honeſt*, (or

Let. 5. comely,) whatſoever is *virtue*, or *praiſe-worthineſs*; how ſhall we underſtand his appeal, till we have ſtudied? —— Or do we know theſe things from our cradles? For ſince we were men, we never vouchſaf'd to enquire; but took for granted that we were knowing in the matter: which yet, without philoſophy, 'tis impoſſible we ſhould be: ſo that when, without philoſophy, we make uſe of theſe high terms, and praiſe GOD in theſe *philoſophical characters;* we may be very good, and pious, and well-meaning; but indeed we are little better than *parrots in devotion.*

TO return therefore to the *picture*, and the advice I am to give you in your ſtudy of that great and maſterly hand, which has drawn all things, and exhibited this great *maſter-piece of* NATURE, this world or univerſe. The firſt thing is, that you prepare and clear your *ſight;* that your eye be *ſimple*, pure, uncorrupted, and ready and fit to receive that light, which is to ſhine into it. This is done by virtue, meekneſs, modeſty, ſincerity. And way being thus made, your reſolution ſtanding towards TRUTH, and you being conſcious to your ſelf, that whilſt you ſeek truth, you cannot offend *the* GOD *of truth;* be not affraid of viewing *all* and comparing *all*. For without compariſon of the *falſe* with the *true*, of the *ugly* with the *beauteous*, of the *dark* and obſcure with the *bright* and ſhining, we can meaſure nothing, nor apprehend any thing that is excellent. We may be as well *Pagan*, *Heathen*, *Turk*, or any thing elſe; if being at CONSTANTINOPLE, ISPAHAN, or wherever the ſeat of any great empire is, we refuſe to look on *Chriſtian* authors, or hear their ſober apologiſts, as being contrary to the hiſtory impoſed on us, with an utter deſtruction and cancelling of all other hiſtory or philoſophy whatſoever.

BUT this fear being ſet aſide, which is ſo whol-

ly unworthy of GOD, and ſo debaſing to his ſtandard of reaſon, which he has placed in us; our next concern is to look impartially into all authors, and upon all nations, and into all parts of learning and human life; to ſeek and find out the true *pulchrum*, the *boneſtum*, the καλὸν: by which ſtandard and meaſure we may know GOD; and know how to praiſe him, when we have learnt what is praiſe-worthy. Let. 5.

BE this your ſearch, and by theſe means, and by this way I have ſhewn you. Seek for the καλὸν in every thing, beginning as low as the plants, the fields, or even the common arts of mankind; to ſee what is beauteous, and what contrary. Thus, and by the original fountains you are arrived to, you will, under providence, attain beauty and true wiſdom for your ſelf; being true to virtue: and ſo GOD proſper you.

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LETTER VI.

February 8th, 1709.

I COMMEND your honeſt liberty; and therefore in the uſe of it, recommend to you the purſuit of the ſame thoughts, that you have ſo honeſtly and naturally grafted upon the ſtock afforded you: to which GOD grant a true life and increaſe.

TIME will be, when your greateſt diſturbance will ariſe from that ancient difficulty πόθεν τὸ κακὸν. But when you have well inur'd yourſelf to the precepts and ſpeculation, which give the view of its noble contrary (τὸ καλὸν;) you will reſt ſatisfied. But be perſuaded, in the mean time, that wiſdom is more from the *heart*, than from the *head*. *Feel* goodneſs, and you will ſee all things fair and good.

LET it be your chief endeavour to make acquaintance with what is *good;* that by ſeeing perfectly, by the help of reaſon, what *good* is, and what *ill;* you may prove whether that, which is from revelation, be not perfectly good and conformable to this ſtandard. For if ſo, the very end of the goſpel proves its truth. And that, which to the vulgar is only knowable by miracles, and teachable by poſitive precepts and commands, to the wiſe and virtuous, is demonſtrable by the nature of the thing. So that how can we forbear to give our aſſent to thoſe doctrines, and that revelation, which is deliver'd to us, and enforced by

miracles and wonders? But to us, the very teſt and proof of the divineneſs and truth of that revelation, is from the excellence of the things revealed: otherwiſe the wonders themſelves would have little effect or power: nor could they be thorowly depended on, were we even as near to them, as thoſe, who lived more than a thouſand years ſince; when they were freſhly wrought, and ſtrong in the memory of men. This is what alone can juſtify our eaſineſs of faith; and in this reſpect we can never be too reſign'd, too willing, or too complaiſant. Let. 6.

MEAN while let your eye be *ſimple*; and turn it from the ἄθεον to the θεῖον. View GOD in goodneſs, and in his works, which have that character. Dwell with honeſty, and beauty, and order: ſtudy and love what is of this kind; and in time you will know and love the AUTHOR. Farewel.

LETTER VII.

May 5th, 1709.

I AM mightily ſatisfyed with your writing to me as you do: pray continue.

I LIKE your judgment and thoughts on the books you mention. The biſhop of SALISBURY's expoſition of the *articles* is, no doubt, highly worthy of your ſtudy. None can better explain the ſenſe of the church, than one, who is the greateſt pillar of it ſince the firſt founders; one, who beſt explain'd and aſſerted the reformation it ſelf; was chiefly inſtrumental in ſaving it from popery before and at the revolution; and is now the trueſt example of *laborious*, *primitive*, *pious*, and *learned epiſcopacy*. The antidote indeed, recommended to you, was very abſurd, as you remark your ſelf; and pray have little to do with *controverſy* of any ſort.

CHILLINGWORTH *againſt popery* is ſufficient reading for you, and will teach you the beſt manner of that polemick divinity. 'Tis enough to read what is *good*; and what you find *bad* lay aſide. The good you read will be a ſufficient prevention and anticipation againſt any evil, that may chance come a-croſs you imperceptibly. Fill your ſelf with *good*; and you will carry within you ſufficient anſwer to the *bad*; and by a ſort of inſtinct ſoon diſcern the one from the other.

TRUST your own heart whilſt you keep it honeſt, and can lift it up to the GOD *of truth*, as

seeking that, and *that only*. But keep your self from wrangling, and a controversial spirit: for more harm is taken by a fierce sour answer to an ill book, than from the book it self, be it ever so ill. Therefore remember, I charge you to avoid controversial writers. Let. 7.

If the *antients*, in their purity, are as yet out of your reach; search the *moderns*, that are nearest to them. If you cannot converse with the most antient, use the most modern. For the authors of the middle age, and all that sort of philosophy, as well as divinity, will be of little advantage to you. Gain the purity of the *English*, your own tongue; and read whatever is esteem'd polite or well writ, that comes abroad. You may give me an account of this.

Mean while I am glad you read those modern divines of our nation, who liv'd in this age, and were remarkable for *moderation*, and the *Christian* principle of *charity* and *toleration*.

Do as your *genius* directs you: and if you are virtuous and good, your genius will guide you right. But whatever it be, either antient or modern, that you chuse or read; or however you change your opinion or course of study; communicate, and you shall be heard willingly, and advised the best I am able.

I think your genius has dictated right to you about a little pamphlet; which, it seems, is commonly sold with the reflections lately writ upon it; which, if short, I would not for once debar you from, but have you hear what is said in answer, lest you shou'd seem to your self mistaken or diffident, as to the truth. For my own part, I cannot but think from my heart, that the author of the pamphlet (whatever air of humour he may give himself, the better to take with the polite world,) is most sincere to virtue and religion, and even to the interest of our church. For many of our mo-

Let. 7. dern aſſertors of toleration have ſeemed to leave us deſtitute of what he calls *a publick leading*, or *miniſtry*; which notion he treats as mere enthuſiaſm, or horrid irreligion. For, in truth, religion cannot be left thus to ſhift for itſelf, without the care and countenance of the magiſtrate. But in the remarks, or reflections, I find the anſwerers are ſo far from underſtanding this plain ſenſe of a *leading*, that they think it means only *leading by the noſe*. So excellent are theſe gentlemen at improving ridicule againſt themſelves. They care not who defends religion, or how it is defended, if it be not *in their way*. They cry out upon a deluge of ſcepticiſm breaking out and overwhelming us, in this witty knowing age; and yet they will allow no remedy proper in the caſe, no application to the world in a more genteel, polite, open, and free way. They for their parts (witneſs Dr. A——y againſt the good Mr. H——y) have aſſerted virtue upon baſer principles, and more falſe and deſtructive by far, than EPICURUS, DEMOCRITUS, ARISTIPPUS, or any of the antient atheiſts. They have ſubverted all morality, all grounds of honeſty, and ſupplanted the whole doctrine of our SAVIOUR, under pretence of magnifying his revelation. In philoſophy they give up all foundations, all principles of ſociety, and the very beſt arguments to prove the being of a *Deity*. And, by the way, this pamphlet, which they are ſo offended at, is ſo ſtrong on this head, that the author aſſerts the *Deity* even on the foundations of his *innate idea*, and the power of this notion even over atheiſts themſelves, and by the very conceſſion of EPICURUS and that ſect.—— But no more now. Continue to inform me of your reading and of new books: and GOD be with you.

LETTER VIII.

June 3d, 1709.

I RECEIVED your's ſince your recovery, which I am glad to hear of. The new book you have diſcovered, and the account of it gave me great ſatiſfaction. Your conjectures of it perhaps are not amiſs. Dr. TINDAL's principles, whatever they may be as to church government, are, in reſpect of philoſophy and theology, far wide from the author's of the rhapſody.

IN general truly it has happened, that all thoſe they call *free writers* now-a-days, have eſpouſed thoſe principles, which Mr. HOBBES ſet a foot in this laſt age. Mr. LOCKE, as much as I honour him on account of other writings (*viz.* on government, policy, trade, coin, education, toleration, *&c.*) and as well as I knew him, and can anſwer for his ſincerity as a moſt zealous *Chriſtian* and believer, did however go in the ſelf ſame track, and is follow'd by the TINDALS, and all the other ingenious free authors of our time.

'TWAS Mr. LOCKE, that ſtruck the home blow; for Mr. HOBBES's character and baſe ſlaviſh principles in government took off the poiſon of his philoſophy. 'Twas Mr. LOCKE that ſtruck at all fundamentals, threw all *order* and *virtue* out of the world, and made the very *ideas* of theſe (which are the ſame as thoſe of GOD) *unnatural*, and without foundation in our minds. *Innate* is

Let. 8. a word he poorly plays upon: the right word, tho' leſs uſed, is *connatural*. For what has *birth* or *progreſs* of the *fœtus* out of the womb to do in this caſe? the queſtion is not about the *time* the ideas enter'd, or the *moment* that one body came out of the other: but whether the conſtitution of man be ſuch, that being adult and grown up, at ſuch or ſuch a time, ſooner or later (no matter when) the idea and ſenſe of *order*, *adminiſtration*, and a GOD will not infallibly, inevitably, neceſſarily ſpring up in him.

THEN comes the credulous Mr. LOCKE, with his *Indian*, barbarian ſtories of wild nations, that have no ſuch idea, (as travellers, learned authors! and men of truth! and great philoſophers! have inform'd him;) not conſidering, that this is but *a negative* upon a *hearſay*, and ſo circumſtantiated, that the faith of the *Indian* denyer may be as well queſtion'd, as the veracity or judgment of the relater; who cannot be ſuppoſed to know ſufficiently the myſteries and ſecrets of thoſe barbarians; whoſe language they but imperfectly know; and to whom we good *Chriſtians* have by our little mercy given ſufficient reaſon to conceal many ſecrets from us; as we know particularly in reſpect of ſimples and vegetables: of which tho' we got the *Peruvian* bark, and ſome other noble remedies; yet 'tis certain, that through the cruelty of the *Spaniards*, as they have own'd themſelves, many ſecrets in medicinal affairs have been ſuppreſs'd.

BUT Mr. LOCKE, who had more faith, and was more learn'd in modern *wonder-writers*, than in antient philoſophy, gave up an argument for the *Deity*, which CICERO (tho' a profeſs'd *Sceptick*) would not explode; and which even the chief of the atheiſtick philoſophers anciently acknowledged, and ſolv'd only by their *primus in orbe Deos fecit timor*.

THUS virtue, according to Mr. LOCKE, has

no other meaſure, law, or rule, than *faſhion* and *cuſtom:* morality, juſtice, equity, depend only on *law* and *will*: and GOD indeed is a perfect *free agent* in his ſenſe; that is, *free to any thing, that is however ill:* for if he wills it, it will be made good; virtue may be vice, and vice virtue in its turn, if he pleaſes. And thus neither *right* nor *wrong*, *virtue* nor *vice* are any thing in themſelves; nor is there any trace or idea of them *naturally imprinted* on human minds. Experience and our catechiſm teach us all! I ſuppoſe 'tis ſomething of like kind, which teaches birds their neſts, and how to fly the minute they have full feathers. Your THEOCLES, whom you commend ſo much, laughs at this; and, as modeſtly as he can, aſks a *Lockiſt*, whether the idea of *woman* (and what is ſought after in woman,) be not taught alſo by ſome catechiſm, and dictated to the man. Perhaps if we had no *ſchools of Venus*, nor ſuch horrid lewd books, or lewd companions; we might have no underſtanding of this, till we were taught by our parents: and if the tradition ſhould happen to be loſt; the race of mankind might periſh in a ſober nation. —— This is very poor philoſophy. But the gibberiſh of the ſchools, for theſe ſeveral centuries, has, in thoſe latter days of liberty, made any contrary philoſophy of good reliſh, and highly ſavoury with all men of wit; ſuch as have been emancipated from that egregious form of intellectual bondage. But I ſee you are on a better ſcent. ——

Let. 8.

I CAN ſay no more at preſent: only I would not have you inquire further, as yet, after that book, entitled, an *inquiry:* becauſe it was an imperfect thing, brought into the world many years ſince, contrary to the author's deſign, in his abſence beyond ſea, and in a diſguis'd diſorder'd ſtyle. It may one day perhaps be ſet righter; ſince other things have made it to be inquired after. Have

Let. 8. patience in the mean while, and continue your ſtudies. Diſpute with no body on any ſubject. Keep your remarks to your ſelf; and cultivate the good maxims and principles you have received. Be humble in all your manners, geſture, and behaviour: for that chiefly ſuits with the character deſign'd. GOD guide you in all true piety, moderation, and virtue. Farewel.

LETTER IX.

December 30. 1709.

I HEARTILY approv'd your method and deſign, and continue to do ſo. Get what you can of the *Greek* language: 'tis the fountain of all; not only of polite learning and philoſophy, but of divinity alſo, as being the language of our *ſacred oracles*. For even the old teſtament is in its beſt and trueſt language in the *Septuagint*. All that you can get of leiſure from other exerciſe and the required ſchool-learning, apply to *Greek*.

THE few good books of our divines and *moraliſts*, which you have diſcovered by your own ſagacity, will ſerve you both for language and thought.

DR. MORE's *Enchiridion ethicum*, is a right good piece of ſound morals; tho' the doctor himſelf, in other *Engliſh* pieces, could not abide by it; but made different excurſions into other regions, and was perhaps as great an enthuſiaſt, as any of thoſe, whom he wrote againſt. However, he was a learned and a good man.

REMEMBER my former cautions and recommendations: and endeavour above all things to avoid the conceit and pride, which is almoſt naturally inherent to the function and calling you are about to undertake. And ſince we think fit to call it *prieſthood*, ſee that it be of ſuch a kind, as may not make you ſay or think of your ſelf in the preſence of another, *that you are holier than he*. 'Tis a

Let. 9. *ſolemn* part; but ſee and beware, that the *ſolemnity* do not abuſe you. And remember, that HE, whom you own to be your *maſter* and legiſlator, made no laws relating to civil power, or interfering with it. So that all the preheminence, wealth, or penſion, which you receive, or expect to receive, by help of this aſſum'd character, is from the publick, whence both the authority and profit is deriv'd; and on which it legally depends; all other pretenſions of *prieſts* being Jewiſh and Heatheniſh, and in our ſtate ſeditious, diſloyal, and factious; ſuch as is that ſpirit, which now reigns in our univerſities, and where the high-church-men (as they are call'd) are prevalent. But to this (thank GOD) our parliament, interpoſing at this inſtant, gives a check, by proceeding againſt Dr. S——L, and advancing Mr. H——Y, of whom I have often ſpoken to you.

NO more now, but GOD bleſs your ſtudies and endeavours. Never was more need of a ſpirit of *moderation* and *Chriſtianity* among thoſe, who are entering on the miniſterial function; ſince the contrary ſpirit has poſſeſs'd almoſt the whole prieſthood, beyond all former phanaticks. GOD ſend you all true *Chriſtianity*, with that temper, life, and manners, which become it. Farewel.

LETTER X.

July 10th, 1710.

I BELIEV'D indeed, it was your expecting me every day at ****, that prevented your writing, ſince you received *orders* from the good biſhop, my lord of SALISBURY; who as he has done more, than any man living, for the good and honour of the church of ENGLAND and the reform'd religion; ſo he now ſuffers more than any man from the tongues and ſlander of thoſe ungrateful *church-men;* who may well call themſelves by that ſingle term of diſtinction, having no claim to that of *Chriſtianity* or *Proteſtant;* ſince they have thrown off all the temper of the former, and all concern or intereſt with the latter.

I HOPE whatever advice the great and good biſhop gave you, will ſink deeply into your mind: and that your receiving *orders* from the hands of ſo worthy a prelate will be one of the circumſtances, which may help to inſure your ſteddineſs in honeſty, good principles, moderation, and true *Chriſtianity*; which are now ſet at nought, and at defiance, by the far greater part and numbers of that body of clergy call'd *the church of* ENGLAND; who no more eſteem themſelves a proteſtant church, or in union with thoſe of proteſtant communion; tho' they pretend to the name of *Chriſtian*, and would have us judge of the *ſpirit* of *Chriſtianity* from *theirs:* which GOD prevent! leſt

Let. 10. good men ſhould in time forſake *Chriſtianity* thro' their means.

As for my part of kindneſs and friendſhip to you; I ſhall be ſufficiently recompenſed, if you prove (as you have ever promis'd) a virtuous, pious, ſober, and ſtudious man, as becomes the ſolemn charge belonging to you. But you have been brought into the world, and come into *orders*, in the worſt time for inſolence, riot, pride, and preſumption of clergy-men, that I ever knew, or have read of; tho' I have ſearched far into the characters of high-church-men from the firſt centuries, in which they grew to be dignify'd with crowns and purple, to the late times of our reformation, and to our preſent age.

THE thorough knowledge you have had of me, and the direction of all my ſtudies and life to the promotion of religion, virtue, and the good of mankind, will (I hope) be of ſome good example to you: at leaſt it will be a hindrance to your being ſeduc'd by *infamies* and *calumnies*; ſuch as are thrown upon the men called *moderate*, and in their ſtyle indifferent in religion, heterodox, and heretical.

I PRAY GOD to bleſs you in your new function with all the true virtue, humility, moderation, and meekneſs, which becomes it. I am your hearty friend.

*S******,*

LETTERS

FROM THE

RIGHT HONOURABLE

THE LATE

Earl of *SHAFTESBURY*,

TO

ROBERT MOLESWORTH, Esq;

Afterwards the Lord Viscount of that name.

WITH

TWO LETTERS written by the late

Sir JOHN CROPLEY.

Printed in the YEAR, M. DCC. LVIII.

LETTER I.

Chelſey, Sept. 30. 1708.

Dear SIR,

TWO reaſons have made me delay anſwering yours: I was in hopes of ſeeing our great lord, and I depended on Mr. MICKLETHWAYT's preſenting you with my ſervices, and informing you of all matters publick and private. The queen is but juſt come to *Kenſington*, and my * lord to town. He promis'd to ſend me word, and appoint me a time, when he came. But I ſhou'd have prevented him, had it been my weather for town-viſits. But having ow'd the recovery of my health, to the method I have taken of avoiding the town-ſmoke; I am kept at a diſtance, and like to be remov'd even from hence in a little while: tho' I have a project of ſtaying longer here than my uſual time, by removing now and then croſs the water, to my friend Sir JOHN CROPLEY's in *Surrey*, where my riding and airing recruits me. I am highly rejoic'd, as you may believe, that I can find my ſelf able to do a little more publick ſervice, than what of late years I have been confin'd to, in my country: and I own the

* The earl of *Godolphin*, then lord treaſurer.

Let. 1. circumſtances of a court were never ſo inviting to me, as they have been ſince a late view I have had of the beſt part of our miniſtry. It may perhaps have added more of confidence and forwardneſs in my way of courtſhip, to be ſo incapacitated as I am from taking any thing there for my ſelf. But I hope I may convince ſome perſons, that it is poſſible to ſerve diſintereſtedly; and that obligations already receiv'd (tho' on the account of others) are able to bind as ſtrongly, as the ties of ſelf-intereſt.

I HAD reſolv'd to ſtay, till I had one conference more with our * lord before I writ to you: but a letter, which I have this moment receiv'd from Mr. MICKLETHWAYT, on his having waited on you in the country, has made me reſolve to write thus haſtily (without miſſing to-night's poſt) to acknowledge, in the friendlieſt and free'ſt manner, the kind and friendly part you have taken in my private intereſts. If I have ever endur'd any thing for the publick, or ſacrific'd any of my youth, or pleaſures, or intereſts to it, I find it is made up to me in the good opinion of ſome few: and perhaps one ſuch friendſhip as yours, may counter-balance all the malice of my worſt enemies. 'Tis true, what I once told you I had determin'd with my ſelf, never to think of the continuance of a family, or altering the condition of life that was moſt agreeable to me, whilſt I had (as I thought) a juſt excuſe: but that of late I had yielded to my friends, and allow'd 'em to diſpoſe of me, if they thought that by this means, I cou'd add any thing to the power or intereſt I had, to ſerve them or my country. I was afraid however, that I ſhou'd be ſo heavy and unactive in this affair, that my friends wou'd hardly take me to be in earneſt. But tho' it be ſo lately, that I have taken my reſolution,

* The ſame.

and that you were one of the firſt who knew it; Let. 1.
I have on a ſudden ſuch an affair thrown a-croſs me, that I am confident I have zeal enough rais'd in me, to hinder you from doubting whether I ſincerely intend what I profeſs. There is a lady, whom chance has thrown into my neighbourhood, and whom I never ſaw till the *Sunday* before laſt, who is in every reſpect that very perſon, I had ever fram'd a picture of from my imagination, when I wiſh'd the beſt for my own happineſs in ſuch a circumſtance. I had heard her character before, and her education, and every circumſtance beſides ſuited exactly, all but her fortune. Had ſhe but a ten thouſand pounds, my modeſty wou'd allow me to apply without reſerve, where it was proper. And I wou'd it were in my power, without injury to the lady, to have her upon thoſe terms, or lower. I flatter my ſelf too by all appearance, that the father has long had, and yet retains, ſome regard for me; and that the diſappointments he has had in ſome higher friendſhips, may make him look as low as on me, and imagine me not wholly unworthy of his relation. But, if by any intereſt I had, or cou'd poſſibly make with the father, I ſhou'd induce him to beſtow his daughter, perhaps with much leſs fortune (ſince I wou'd gladly accept her ſo) than what in other places he wou'd have beſtow'd, I ſhall draw a double misfortune on the lady; unleſs ſhe has goodneſs enough to think, that one who ſeeks her for what he counts better than a fortune, may poſſibly by his worth or virtue make her ſufficient amends. And were I but encourag'd to hope or fancy this, I wou'd begin my offers to-morrow; and ſhou'd have greater hopes, that my diſintereſtedneſs wou'd be of ſome ſervice to me in this place, as matters ſtand.

You ſee my ſcruple, and being us'd to me, and knowing my odd temper (for I well know you believe it no affectation) you may be able to relieve

Let. 1. me, and have the means in your hands: for a few words with one, who has the honour to be your relation, wou'd reſolve me in this affair. I cannot ſtir in it till then, and ſhou'd be more afraid of my good fortune than my bad, if it ſhou'd happen to me to prevail with a father, for whom the lady has ſo true a duty; that, even *againſt her inclination*, ſhe wou'd comply with any thing he requir'd. I am afraid it will be impoſſible for you to read, or make ſenſe of, what I write thus haſtily: but I fancy with my ſelf, I make you the greater confidence, in truſting to my humour and firſt thought, without ſtaying till I have ſo much as form'd a reflection. I am ſure there is hardly any one beſides you, I ſhou'd lay my ſelf thus open to: but I am ſecure in your friendſhip, which I rely on (for advice) in this affair. I beg to hear from you in anſwer by the firſt poſt, being with great ſincerity,

Your faithful friend

and humble ſervant,

SHAFTESBURY.

LETTER II.

Beachworth in *Surrey*, *Oct.* 12. 1708.

Dear SIR,

FROM the hour I had writ you that haſty letter from *Chelſey*, I was in pain till I had heard from you; and cou'd not but often wiſh, I had not writ in that hurry and confuſion. But ſince I have receiv'd yours in anſwer, I have all the ſatisfaction imaginable. I ſee ſo ſincere a return of friendſhip, that it cannot any more concern me to have laid my ſelf ſo open.

I WOU'D have a friend ſee me at the worſt: and 'tis a ſatisfaction to find, that if one's failures or weakneſſes were greater than really they are, one ſhou'd ſtill be cheriſh'd, and be ſupply'd even with good ſentiments and diſcretion, when they were wanting. One thing only I beg you wou'd take notice of, that I had never any thoughts of applying to the young lady, before I apply'd to the father. My morals are a little too ſtrict to let me have taken ſuch an advantage, had it been ever ſo fairly offer'd. But my drift was, to learn whether there had been an inclination to any one before me: for many offers had been, and ſome I know very great, within theſe few months. And tho' the duty of the daughter might have acquieſc'd in the diſlike of the father, ſo as not to ſhew any diſcon-

Let. 2. tent; yet there might be ſomething of this lying at the heart, and ſo ſtrongly, that my application and ſucceſs (if I had any) might be look'd on with an ill eye, and cauſe a real trouble. This wou'd have caus'd it, I am ſure, in me; when I ſhou'd have come, perhaps too late, to have diſcover'd it. But there is nothing of this in the caſe, by all that I can judge or learn. Never did I hear of a creature ſo perfectly reſign'd to duty, ſo innocent in herſelf, and ſo contented under thoſe means, which have kept and ſtill keep her ſo innocent, as to the vanities and vices of the world; tho' with real good parts, and improvement of 'em at home: for of this my lord has wiſely and handſomely taken care. Never was any thing ſo unfortunate for me, as that ſhe ſhould be ſuch a fortune: for that I know is what every body will like, and I perhaps have the worſt reliſh of, and leaſt deſerve. The other qualities I ſhou'd prize more than any, and the generality of mankind, inſtead of prizing, would be apt to contemn: for want of air, and humour, and the wit of general converſation, and the knowledge of the town, and faſhions, and diverſions, are unpardonable dullneſſes in young wives; who are taken more as companions of pleaſure, and to be ſhown abroad as beauties in the world than to raiſe families, and ſupport the honour and intereſt of thoſe they are join'd to.

But to ſhow you that I am not wanting to myſelf, ſince your incouraging and adviſing letter, I have begun my application, by what you well call * *the right end.* You ſhall hear with what ſucceſs, as ſoon as I know my ſelf. I cou'd both be bolder and abler in the management of the affair, and cou'd promiſe my ſelf ſure ſucceſs, had I but a conſtitution that wou'd let me act for my ſelf; and buſtle in and about that town, which by this win-

* The father.

ter-ſeaſon coming on ſo fiercely, is by this time in ſuch a cloud of ſmoke, that I can neither be in it, nor near it. I ſtay'd but a day or two too long at *Chelſey*, after the ſetting in of theſe eaſt and north-eaſt winds, and I had like to have fallen into one of my ſhort breathing fits, which would have ruin'd me. But by flying hither and keeping my diſtance, I keep my health: but (I may well fear) ſhall loſe my miſtreſs. For who ever courted at this rate? Did matters ly ſo as to the fortune, that I cou'd be the obliging ſide, it might go on with tolerable grace: and ſo I fear it muſt be, whenever I marry, or elſe am like to remain a batchelor. Let. 2.

HOWEVER, you can never any more arraign my morals after this. You can never charge me, as you have done, for a remiſſneſs, and lazineſs, or an indulgence to my own ways, and love of retirement; which (as you thought) might have made me averſe to undertake the part of wife and children, tho' my country or friends ever ſo much requir'd it of me. You ſee it will not be my fault: and you ſhall find I will not act booty for my ſelf. If I have any kind of ſucceſs at this *right end*, I will then beg to uſe the favour of your intereſt in your couſin, as I ſhall then mention to you: but inſtead of ſetting me off for other things, I wou'd moſt earneſtly beg that you wou'd ſpeak only of your long and thorough knowledge of me, and (if you think it true) of my good temper, honeſty, love of my relations and country, ſobriety, and virtue. For theſe I hope I may ſtand to, as far as I am poſſeſs'd of 'em. They will not, I hope, grow worſe as I grow older. For tho' I can promiſe little of my *regimen*, by which I hold my health; I am perſuaded to think no vices will grow upon me, as I manage my ſelf: for in this I have been ever ſincere, to make my ſelf as good as I was able, and to live for no other end.

I AM aſham'd to have writ ſuch a long letter, a-

Let. 2. bout my ſelf, as if I had no concern for the publick: tho' I may truly ſay to you; if I had not the publick in view, I ſhou'd hardly have theſe thoughts of changing my condition at this time of day, that I can better indulge my ſelf in the eaſe of a ſingle and private life. The weather, which is ſo unfortunate for me by theſe ſettled eaſt winds, keeps the country dry; and if they are the ſame (as is likely) in *Flanders*, I hope e'er this *Liſle* is ours, which has coſt us ſo dear, and held us in ſuch terrible anxiety.

I HAVE been to ſee lord treaſurer that little while he was in town, but cou'd not find him.

PRAY let me hear in your next, what time you think of coming * up. I ſhall be glad to hear ſoon from you again, wiſhing you delight and good ſucceſs in your country affairs, and all happineſs and proſperity to your family. I remain,

Dear SIR,

Your obliged friend and

faithful humble ſervant,

Sir John Cropley, *with whom I am here, preſents his humble ſervice to you.*

SHAFTESBURY.

* From *Edlington*, a ſeat the lord MOLESWORTH has in *Yorkſhire*.

LETTER III.

Dear SIR,

Beachworth in *Surrey, Oct.* 23. 1708.

YOU gueſs'd right as to the winds, which are ſtill eaſterly, and keep me here in winter-quarters, from all publick and private affairs. I have neither ſeen lord treaſurer, nor been at *Chelſey* * to proſecute my own affair: tho' as for this latter, as great as my zeal is, I am forc'd to a ſtand. I was before-hand told, that as to the lord, he was in ſome meaſure ingag'd; and the return I had from him, on my application, ſeem'd to imply as much. On the other ſide, I have had reaſon to hope, that the lady, who had before bemoan'd her ſelf for being deſtin'd to greatneſs without virtue, had yet her choice to make; and, after her eſcapes, ſought for nothing ſo much, as ſobriety and a ſtrict virtuous character. How much more ſtill this adds to my zeal, you may believe: and by all hands I have receiv'd the higheſt character of your relation, who ſeems to have inſpired her with theſe and other good ſentiments, ſo rare in her ſex and degree. My misfortune is, I have no friend in the world by whom I can in the leaſt ingage, or have acceſs to your relation, but only by your ſelf: and I have no hopes of ſeeing you ſoon, or of your

* He had a pretty retreat at *Little Chelſey*, which he fitted up according to his own fancy.

Let. 3. having any opportunity to ſpeak of me to her. If a letter cou'd be proper, I ſhou'd fancy it more ſo at this time than any other: provided you wou'd found it on the common report which is abroad, of my being in treaty for that lady. This might give you an occaſion of ſpeaking of me as to that part, which few beſides can know ſo well, I mean *my heart*: which, if ſhe be ſuch as really all people allow, will not diſpleaſe her to hear ſo well of, as, perhaps in friendſhip and from old acquaintance, you may repreſent. If the perſon talk'd of be really my rival, and in favour with the father, I muſt own my caſe is next to deſperate; not only becauſe I truly think him, as the world goes, likely enough to make a good (at leaſt a civil) huſband; but becauſe as my aim is not fortune, and his is, he being an old friend too, I ſhou'd unwillingly ſtand between him and an eſtate; which his liberality has hitherto hinder'd him from gaining, as great as his advantages have been hitherto in the government. By what I have ſaid, I believe you may gueſs who * my ſuppos'd rival is: or if you want a farther hint, 'tis one of the chief of the *Junto*, an old friend of yours and mine, whom we long ſat with in the houſe of commons (not often voted with) but who was afterwards taken up to a higher houſe; and is as much noted for wit, and gallantry, and magnificence, as for his eloquence and courtier's character. But whether this be ſo ſuited to this meek good lady's happineſs, I know not. Fear of partiality and ſelf-love makes me not dare determine; but rather miſtruſt my ſelf, and turn the balance againſt me. Pray keep this ſecret, for I got it by chance: and if there be any thing in it, 'tis a great ſecret between the two lords themſelves. But ſometimes I fancy it is a nail, which will hardly go: tho' I am pretty certain, it

* Charles Montague, *late earl of* Hallifax.

has been aim'd at by this old acquaintance of ours, ever ſince a diſappointment happen'd from a great lord beyond ſea, who was to have had the lady. Let. 3.

NOTHING but the ſincere friendſhip you ſhow for me, cou'd make me to continue thus to impart my privateſt affairs: and in reality, tho' they ſeem wholly private and ſelfiſh, I will not be aſham'd to own the honeſty of my heart to you; in profeſſing that the publick has much the greateſt part in all this buſtle, I am ingaging in. You have lately made me believe, and even prov'd too by experience, that I had ſome intereſt in the world; and there, where I leaſt dream't of it, with great men in power. I had always ſomething of an intereſt in my country, and with the plain honeſt people: and ſometimes I have experienced both here at home, and abroad, where I have long liv'd, and made acquaintance (in *Holland* eſpecially) that with a plain character of honeſty and diſintereſtedneſs, I have on ſome occaſions, and in dangerous urgent times of the publick, been able to do ſome good. If the increaſe of my fortune be the leaſt motive in this affair before me (as ſincerely I do not find) I will venture to ſay, it can only be in reſpect of the increaſe of my intereſt, which I may have in my country, in order to ſerve it.

ONE who has little notion of magnificence, and leſs of pleaſure and luxury, has not that need of riches which others have. And one who prefers tranquillity, and a little ſtudy, and a few friends, to all other advantages of life, and all the flatteries of ambition and fame, is not like to be naturally ſo very fond of ingaging in the circumſtances of marriage, I do not go ſwimmingly to it, I aſſure you: nor is the great fortune a great bait. Sorry I am, that no body with a leſs fortune, or more daughters, has had the wit to order ſuch an education. A very moderate fortune had ſerv'd my

Let. 3. turn; or perhaps quality alone, to have a little juſtify'd me, and kept me in countenance, had I choſe ſo humbly. But now that which is rich oar, and wou'd have been the moſt eſtimable had it been beſtow'd on me, will be mere droſs, and flung away on o hers; who will pity and deſpiſe thoſe very advantages, which I prize ſo much. But this is one of the common places of exclamation, againſt the diſtribution of things in this world: and, upon my word, whoever brought up the proverb, 'tis no advantageous one for a providence to ſay, *matches are made in heaven*. I believe rather in favour of providence; that there is nothing which is ſo merely fortune, and more committed to the power of blind chance. So I muſt be contented, and repine the leſs at my lot, if I am diſappointed in ſuch an affair. If I ſatisfy my friends that I am not wanting to my ſelf, 'tis ſufficient. I am ſure you know it, by the ſound experience of all this trouble I have given, and am ſtill like to give you. Tho' I confeſs my ſelf, yet even in this too I do but anſwer friendſhip, as being ſo ſincerely and affectionately

Your moſt faithful friend

and humble ſervant,

SHAFTESBURY.

LETTER IV.

Dear SIR, *Beachworth, Nov.* 4. 1708.

I WAS at *Chelſey* when I receiv'd yours with the inclos'd, and was ſo buſy'd in the imployment you had given me, by your encouragement and kind aſſiſtance in a certain affair, that I have let paſs two poſts without returning you thanks, for the greateſt marks of your friendſhip, that any one can poſſibly receive. Indeed I might well be aſham'd to receive 'em in one ſenſe; ſince the * character you have given of me, is ſo far beyond what I dare think ſuitable: tho' in theſe caſes, one may better perhaps give way to vanity than in any other. But tho' friendſhip has made you over favourable, there is one truth however, which your letter plainly carries with it, and muſt do me ſervice. It ſhows that I have a real and paſſionate friend in you: and to have deſerv'd ſuch a friendſhip, muſt be believ'd ſome ſort of merit. I don't ſay this as aiming at a fine ſpeech: but in reality, where one ſees ſo little friendſhip, and of ſo ſhort continuance, as commonly in mankind; it muſt be, one wou'd think, even in the ſexes eye, a pledge

* This relates to a letter the lord *Molſeworth* had written in his favour.

Let. 4. of conſtancy, fidelity, and other merit, to have been able to engage and preſerve ſo laſting and firm a friendſhip with a man of worth. So that you ſee, I can find a way to reconcile my ſelf to all you have ſaid in favour of me, allowing it to have been ſpoken in paſſion; and in this reſpect the more ingaging with the ſex; who are as good or better judges than we our ſelves, of the ſincerity of affection.

But in the midſt of my courtſhip came an eaſt-wind, and with the town-ſmoke did my buſineſs, or at leaſt wou'd have done it effectually, had I not fled hither with what breath I had left. Indeed I cou'd have almoſt laugh'd at my own miſfortune: there is ſomething ſo odd in my fortune and conſtitution. You may think me melancholy, if you will. I own there was a time in publick affairs when I really was: for, ſaving your ſelf, and perhaps one or two more (I ſpeak the moſt) I had none that acted with me, againſt the injuſtice and corruption of both parties: each of them inflam'd againſt me, particularly one, becauſe of my birth and principles; the other, becauſe of my pretended apoſtacy, which was only adhering to thoſe principles on which their party was founded. There have been apoſtates indeed ſince that time. But the days are long ſince paſt, that you and I were treated as * *Jacobites*. What to ſay for ſome companions of ours, as they are now † chang'd, I

* The truly apoſtate *whigs*, who became ſervile and arbitrary to pleaſe court empirics, branded all thoſe as *Jacobites*, who adher'd to thoſe very principles, that occaſion'd and juſtify'd the revolution.

† Here he means ſome who voted with him in his favourite bills, and who were originally *whigs*; but out of pique and diſappointment, became if not real *Jaco-*

know not: but as to my own particular, I aſſure you, that ſince thoſe ſad days of the publick, which might have help'd on perhaps with that melancholy or ſpleen which you fear in me, and for certain have help'd me to this ill ſtate of health: I am now however, as free as poſſible; and even in reſpect to my health too, excepting only the air of *London*, I am, humanly ſpeaking, very paſſable: but gallantly ſpeaking, and as a courtier of the fair ſex, God knows I may be very far from paſſing. And I have that ſort of ſtubbornneſs and wilfulneſs (if that be ſpleen) that I cannot bear to ſet a better face on the matter, than it deſerves; ſo I am like to be an ill courtier, for the ſame reaſon that I am an ill jockey. It is impoſſible for me, to conceal my horſe's imperfections or my own, where I mean to diſpoſe of either. I think it unfair: ſo that cou'd any quack, by a peculiar medicine, ſet me up for a month or two, enough to go through with my courtſhip; I wou'd not accept his offer, unleſs I cou'd miraculouſly *be made whole*. Now for a country health and a town neighbourhood, I am ſound and well: but for a town life, whether it be for buſineſs or diverſion, 'tis out of my compaſs. Let. 4.

I SAY all this; that you may know my true ſtate, and how deſperate a man you ſerve, and in how deſperate a caſe. Shou'd any thing come of it, the friendſhip will appear the greater: or if nothing, the friendſhip will appear the ſame ſtill, as to me my ſelf. Your letter was deliver'd: I hope you will hear ſoon in anſwer to it. The old lord continues wonderful kind to me, and I hear has lately ſpoken of me ſo to others. Our publick affairs at home will be much chang'd, by the late death

bites (which was ſcarce poſſible) yet in effect as bad, by promoting all the deſigns peculiar to that deſperate party.

Let. 4. of the * prince. But I have been able to ſee no body: ſo won't attempt to write, and will end here with the aſſurance of my being,

Dear SIR,

Your moſt obliged and

faithful friend and ſervant,

SHAFTESBURY.

* The prince of *Denmark*.

LETTER V.

Dear SIR, *Chelſey, Nov.* 20. 1708.

I CAME hither from *Surrey* but yeſterday, and found your ſecond letter; which if I had not receiv'd, I ſhou'd however not have fail'd writing this poſt about our changes talk'd of, which I hope will be to the publick advantage. As to the admirality, and the conſequences of keeping it in the adminiſtration, it had lain under during the prince's time, you knew my mind fully, as well as my opinion of this preſent lord, who, I hope, may with certainty be called *lord high admiral.* 'Tis lord PEMBROKE I mean, who with great reluctancy at laſt accepts it, I believe: tho' he plainly ſaid (as I have been inform'd) that he was inſerted only to ſerve a turn, and that another great lord (the favorite of our whig-party) was at the bottom intended, and wou'd in ſome time ſucceed him. But I really believe things ſtand on a better bottom: and, that as ſtrictly as the lord SOMERS is bound to the party of friends with whom he roſe, he has yet that wiſdom, and with-all that regard to his country's intereſt, eſpecially under a miniſtry of which he is like to have ſo great a ſhare; that however the low *whigs*, may murmur, he will be glad to ſee the naval affairs, in the hands of ſo

Let. 5. univerſally belov'd a man, ſo honourable and uncorrupt as lord PEMBROKE.

BY this you will find I take for granted, that lord SOMERS comes into the place talk'd of for him of *preſident of the council*; and believe it is true that he has kiſs'd the queen's hand, tho' not directly as a miniſter receiv'd. But pretty near it you may believe: ſince at this time of mourning (and ſo ſincere a mourner as the queen is) ſhe hardly wou'd ſee a ſtranger, and which is more, a man ſo eſtrang'd from her, and ſo wholly off from the court as lord SOMERS has been, and whom I ſcarce believe ſhe has admitted at any time to kiſs her hand; he having been for certain the prince's averſion, as you may judge by thoſe, who chiefly influenc'd the prince, and were the violenteſt enemies lord SOMERS had. I muſt confeſs I ever wiſh'd well to this correſpondence, there now is between lord SOMERS and * our lord; but can pretend to have had no ſhare in effecting it. With all the other lords of the *junto*, I have maintain'd only a very cool and diſtant acquaintance: but I have ever diſtinguiſh'd lord SOMERS, and believe ſo well both of our lord and him, that the union between them is upon a handſomer and better bottom, than that of giving up their particular friends on either ſide; and even lord PEMBROKE, (a *tory*) on whom all this turns, is a proof, I think, that this change is not wholly a party matter.

LORD WHARTON indeed is true ſteel: but as little partiality as I have for him, and as ill an opinion of his private life and principles, I fancy his good underſtanding will make him ſhow himſelf a better lord lieutenant, than is expected. More changes I know not of: nor do I believe many are to be expected.

* The lord treaſurer.

FORGIVE this haſty ſheet I here incloſe to you. Let. 6.
'Tis late, and I ſhall miſs this night's poſt ſending hence to town: ſo add only my conſtant and ſincere profeſſion of being,

Dear SIR,

Your obliged friend and

faithful humble ſervant,

SHAFTESBURY.

LETTER VI.

Dear SIR, *Beachworth*, Nov. 25. 1708.

I SHOULD be very ſorry if you miſs'd mine, of laſt poſt but one, from *Chelſey*, in which I writ you my whole thoughts of the changes.

THE parliament has now ſat, and for the firſt trying queſtion we have loſt the *ballot*, tho' but by nine. Our friends ſtuck faſt. But kindneſs to this miniſtry, which the beſt men are willing to favour, made the ſtruggle not ſo great as might be. Sir PETER KING, our friend, ſpoke worthily for it. Sir JOSEPH JEKYL, and all thoſe did as before, and went on our ſide. The late ſpeakers beſet the new * one; and he will have I fear a hard taſk, if this be not an eaſy ſeſſions, as our great news and glorious ſucceſs abroad is like to make it.

AS for myſelf and private affairs (with which I did not trouble you in my laſt long one) you may judge by the place where I am, that they go not on very ſmartly. Making court any where, or in any ſenſe, I find is not among my talents, if I have any. I have done more in this affair, than I thought it poſſible for me to have done, having ſo great an opinion (as I ſtill have) of the lady. But it is hard, even for us men, to know our ſelves: harder for women, however wiſe. She may like a younger man and a ſprightlier, far bet-

* Sir *Richard Onſlow*, ſince created lord *Onſlow*.

ter perhaps than ſuch a one as I am. But I believe ſuch a one will not ſo like or value her as I do; or in the main make her ſo happy, ſo vain I am. But whatever my thoughts are of my ſelf, I am not us'd to ſet my ſelf off for my intereſt-ſake, and make the beſt of what I have. Health I have not in the higheſt degree. Be it ſpleen, or real infirmity, 'tis the ſame misfortune to a lady. Cou'd I make a ſhow of health with ſafety, and purſue the lady, where I might have opportunity to win her liking by this means, and appearing better without doors than I am within at ordinary hours; I wou'd not do this, whatever depend on it. But as the ſeaſon is, and the ſevere north-eaſt winds, and town-ſmoke, I am driven from my quarters at *Chelſey*; and think not that I ſhall be able to return there, till the ſtrength of the winter is over: ſo will take the firſt fair weather, to go to my winter quarters at * *St. Giles*'s. A thouſand thanks to you for your kind concern in an affair, which I have taken ſo much to heart. Your writing again in anſwer, as you did the firſt poſt, was mighty right, to me extremely obliging. If I ſee the leaſt glimmering of hope, you ſhall be ſure to know. I have given order at *Chelſey* about the vines: adieu, dear Sir. I am Let. 6.

Moſt faithfully yours,

SHAFTESBURY.

Sir JOHN and Mr. MICKLETHWAYT (who are both here at this inſtant, rejoicing with me on the good news from abroad) deſire very earneſtly to have their humble ſervices preſented to you.

* His paternal ſeat in *Dorſetſhire*, which he us'd highly to commend; and indeed I have heard it as much admir'd by others.

LETTER VII.

Dear SIR, *Beachworth*, Jan. 6. 1708-9.

HAD I not by accident heard long ſince, that you were on the road to town, you may be ſure I ſhou'd be employing the leiſure time I have here, in writing to you: eſpecially after ſuch long and friendly letters, as I have lately receiv'd from you on publick and private ſubjects; and in which you are ſo favourable to me, as to lay a ſtreſs upon my judgment and opinion in the affairs of my country: which of late years I have been forc'd to look on at a diſtance, without any thing that can be call'd * a ſhare in 'em my ſelf, I muſt own, I began of late to flatter my ſelf, with a way of ſervice I little dreamt of, and which I never thought my ſelf capable of or qualify'd for † hereafter. I never thought I ſhou'd ſee any of the great men at court ſo inclinable to publick good, as to regard or hearken to a man, who had chiefly that at heart: and, to ſay truth of my ſelf, I always thought I had a ſtubborneſs of nature, which wou'd hinder me from making a right advantage of good miniſters, whenever we ſhou'd come to have any ſuch. But the being taken down very early in my life,

* By reaſon of his aſthma.

† Giving advice to thoſe at the helm, of which no man was more capable, both in reſpect of ability and integrity.

from thoſe high imaginations I had, and thoſe hopes of doing ſervice in the plain way of buſineſs and parliaments, the mortification wrought ſo far in my advantage, that I became milder and more tractable: and in this condition you found me, when you laid hold of an opportunity, and with a moſt particular mark of friendſhip, recommended me to a † great man, and brought me under obligation to him. The little time I have had ſince with him, I employ'd the beſt I cou'd, in ſuch advices and ſuch offer of ſervice as became me. Nor do I think I have been any way unfortunate, in giving the leaſt offence; or raiſing that frightful idea, which courtiers are apt to have of patriots and men of rigid virtue. I flatter my ſelf egregiouſly, or I am well in his opinion, and have loſt no ground. But if it be ſo, and as I faithfully believe: I will be ſworn, there never was a more diſintereſs'd man in his ſtation: for if I may judge by myſelf, he leaves it to his friends and thoſe he has oblig'd, to be grateful, and to act for him as they fancy, and as their heart prompts 'em; but for his part, he lays no burdens, nor requires any ſervice in return. Let. 7.

But this however ought not to leſſen the zeal and earneſt endeavour of one who is oblig'd, and in a truly honeſt man it muſt increaſe it; and this, for his own ſake, I wiſh he may be wiſe enough to know: for I had rather ſuch goodneſs of his ſhou'd come from reflection, than mere natural temper and generoſity; for he that can ſee ſo deep into hearts, and comprehend the myſtery of honeſty (a real myſtery in moſt courts) will never want any of thoſe generous inclinations which make a worthy character. But the misfortune is, we honeſt men, (if I may ſpeak thus preſumptuouſly of my ſelf) are a little myſterious our ſelves. There is

† The lord treaſurer.

Let. 7. a cloud over us, which is hard to be clear'd up. The rugged paths we walk through, give us a rugged pace; and the idle ſupine illiterate creatures of a court-education, have a thouſand advantages above us: and can eaſier borrow from our character than we from theirs; tho' of right there ſhou'd be nothing fair or handſome, in which we ſhou'd come behind 'em. And it ought to be a ſhame, that a mere courtier ſhou'd, for his intereſt-ſake, be more aſſiduous and better behav'd in every reſpect; than the man, who makes court for his country, and tries to profit of the good diſpoſition of great men in power. Our friend *Horace* found the difficulty and weight of this, in the caſe of an honeſt man, who lov'd his great * friend, but ſcorn'd to be a ſlave,

† *Scurrantis ſpeciem præbere, profeſſus amicum;*

And therefore (with a ſigh, to be ſure) he ſays,

‡ *Dulcis inexpertis cultura potentis amici,*
Expertus metuit ———

But we have a better cauſe than *Horace*, or his friend *Lollius*, whom he writes to; and therefore ſhould ſtrive to do more. They had only themſelves to ſerve, but we our country and mankind. And there was a great difference between thoſe miniſters whom they courted, and the miniſter our friend; for their miniſtry was the enſlaving of their country, and the world; this miniſtry is the very delivering of both, and the foundation of a nobler ſtructure of liberty (by a juſt *balance* of *power* at home and abroad) than ever was yet laid by mankind. They are in ſo good a way, they can ſcarce

* Mecenas. † Lib. 1. epiſt. 18. ver. 2.
‡ Ibid. ver. 86.

miſcarry. Nor can they fail of reward in the juſt eſteem and gratitude of the publick, if they are not moſt unhappily wanting to themſelves in their private friendſhips. But if truſting to their publick merit, or to their intereſt in their prince, they either make no friends, or ſuch as have not courage and wiſdom, their enemies will find advantages againſt 'em in any ſtate of affairs. Let. 7.

As our preſent affairs ſtand, I am ſure a miniſter has need to be fortify'd with good friends and honeſt adviſers. He ought to know how he ſtands with the publick, how every action and ſtep is conſtrued, and what the people think of matters, before the proof comes in a parliament. 'Tis my opinion, that a peace is not ſo near, as it may ſeem. I know the hard circumſtances the *Dutch* lie under, will make them preſs for the firſt terms, that ſeem any way advantageous. But matters are not at preſent to be tranſacted by a whiſper, between two gentlemen of the blade; and others muſt have the ſecret communicated to them, beſides * a MONSIEUR BOUFLEURS or MILOR PORTLAND: ſo great a change has happen'd ſince that laſt peace, both in the government of *England*, as well as *Holland!* and a chancellor here apprehends another ſort of duty, as well as a penſioner there, thanks to the *tory* gentlemen, for this their notable furtherance of the prerogative. For I was one of thoſe ſorrowful *whigs*, who bemoaned the ſad caſe of our conſtitution, according to which the power of peace and war was wholly in the prince; whilſt the *tories* ſaw plainly that it was otherwiſe, and

* Theſe made the famous *partition-treaty*, which was ſo ill reliſh'd in *England*, and rejected by the parliament. For a while it was kept very ſecret, which circumſtance alone is a juſt preſumption, that a treaty is not for the advantage or honour of the nation.

Let. 7. cou'd impeach a lord * chancellor for placing the ſeal, where I ſincerely thought he cou'd not refuſe to do it at his prince's command. But let lord-chancellors, and other miniſters look to themſelves. If our conſtitution was not ſo then, it is become ſo now: for not the abſolute command, the obſtinacy, the raſhneſs, or ill judgment of the prince himſelf (tho' ever ſo much a principal in the caſe, or tho' ſingle, or by himſelf) can juſtify or excuſe the leaſt flaw in a treaty; for which the miniſters are with their heads to be anſwerable to the people, as by late precedents it has been eſtabliſh'd. Theſe difficulties may eaſily ſhow a wiſe miniſter, that he has need of very diſcerning, bold, and honeſt friends; and ſuch as are not only able by their advice to aſſiſt him, but by their intereſt and credit, be as it were hoſtages and pledges for him to the publick, and to that conceal'd party of ſober and honeſt men: who, as few as they are, and as little noiſy, have a much greater part in the influence of affairs, than miniſters are apt to think; eſpecially thoſe miniſters, who affect a high contempt of *coffee-houſes* and *pamphlets*. But 'tis time to end my ſcrawl, and tell you the chief reaſon of it over leaf.

I HAVE been ſhamefully tedious about publick affairs, but will be ſhorter about private; after only aſking, how comes it you are not in parliament? For your own ſake perhaps I am not ſo much concern'd; for I know too well what hardſhips lie upon one, who will not be a ſlave to a party †, and

* Lord *Somers*. Lord *Portland* was alſo impeach'd; as were at the ſame time the lords *Orford* and *Halliſax*.

† He does not mean their care ſhould be in proſecuting, which often proves a worſe remedy than the diſeaſe; but by conſidering the contents of them, and thereby judging of the ſentiments of the people, or at leaſt of ſome party among them.

ſuch men ſhou'd be rather reſerv'd for the moſt hazardous and calamitous times, when publick neceſſity and common danger make their merits and opinion better regarded. But for a good * lord's ſake I am ſorry you are not there: for tho' you may ſerve him leſs invidiouſly, and with more ſatisfaction perhaps to himſelf, in another ſtation; yet he wants thoſe in ſuch a body as the houſe of commons, who are friends to his miniſtry, and yet free to act for thoſe they repreſent. This I know may be ſhocking in many caſes: and if it be ſo, and the difficulty be invincible, I congratulate your eſcape; but condole with another perſon the want of a more truly refin'd policy, than I ſee is underſtood at court. Let. 7.

As for my affair, it hangs juſt as it did. The more I learn from all hands, the more I ſee, and hear, and obſerve, the more I incline, but hope leſs: for if I had not fears, that I am wholly diſregarded on the ſide of another ſex, I am confident I cou'd go further in prevailing, and ſhou'd have better intereſt in our own, than any other. I have this reaſon, that beſides a declaration in my favour, with a liking of my character, family, circumſtances, with the profeſſion of a ſincere friendſhip, which has been of long ſtanding, and all other commendations and profeſſions that I cou'd modeſtly wiſh or deſire, beſides all this (I ſay) I have a merit that no body elſe will rival me in, for I wou'd be glad of obtaining upon any terms: and that which is ſo hard to be parted with, is what I ſeek not either now, or in reverſion. And let this be a token to you, that I am not cool or indifferent, as you ſuſpect and reproach me in one of your letters. I wou'd with all my ſoul ingage my ſelf this moment to the perſon (were I but lik'd) with a renunciation of every thing of intereſt or

* Lord treaſurer.

Let. 7. fortune, either preſent, or to come; and if I loſe the perſon, even thus, I ſhall eſteem it a loſs: and whenever I ſhall think of ingaging elſe where (if this be loſt to me) I ſhall ſhow that money is not ſo mighty a thing in my eſteem, that it ſhou'd ſeem incredible for me to purſue in ſuch a diſintereſs'd manner.

But ſurely you will not think this ſo ſtrange in me, that I ſhou'd value virtue ſo much, and wealth ſo little. And now that I have ſpent a whole page upon my ſelf (contrary to my promiſe) committing my ſelf and my affair wholly to you, and reſolving to take your judgment on it, I wait your advices, and remain, dear Sir,

Your moſt obliged

and ever faithful friend

and humble ſervant,

Shaftesbury.

If you direct to me to Sir John's here at *Beachworth* in *Surrey*, by *Darking-bagg*, the poſt will bring your letter quick; but if any thing of great importance, a ſervant of mine ſhall come away at any time from *Chelſey*, to bring what you have to communicate: or perhaps Mr. Micklethwayt, who is often coming hither (generally once a week) may be the conveyor; at leaſt he will ſend it to *Chelſey*, or ſee it ſafe convey'd, if you direct him.

LETTER VIII.

Dear SIR, Beachworth, Jan. 12. 1708-9.

THAT you might not be in pain on my account; I took the reſolution, as ſoon as I had read yours, to ſend an anſwer away with the ſooneſt, without waiting the return of the poſt. So this, which is writ late to-night, will I hope come to you to-morrow evening by the penny-poſt, ſince it is to be in town before noon. And glad one is of any opportunity of a meſſenger, ſuch as go by neceſſity on their own buſineſs, and on foot: for our ſervants and horſes cannot ſtir out of this bottom, where we are block'd up by the deep ſnows; and, what is worſe, the melted ſnow now turn'd again by the froſt into a cruſted ice.

I WAS already on my journey to the weſt, with my face (in the *Jewiſh* phraſe) towards St. *Giles*'s; but now I am a ſojourner here of neceſſity. I can neither go backward nor forward; nor cou'd I, tho' I were a robuſt man: but as a tender one, I know not what will become of me, or my affairs. For no body's affairs ever requir'd their preſence more than mine do at this time, and have done this good while in the country.

BUT now, as to what you write to me of your being in concern for, on my account, you need

Let. 8. fear no reſentment or reproach from me on that ſcore. I have that intire dependance on my friend, that I can always commit my affairs and ſecrets to him as plenipotentiary; and where I have once given my heart (allow a lover to ſpeak in lover's language) I can eaſily intruſt my intereſt. You have long had my heart, even before I knew you perſonally. For the holy and truly pious man, who reveal'd the greateſt of myſteries; he, who with a truly generous love to mankind and his country, pointed out the *ſtate of Denmark* to other ſtates, and propheſy'd of the things highlieſt important to the growing age: he, I ſay, had already gain'd me as his ſworn friend, before he was ſo kind as to make friendſhip reciprocal, by his acquaintance and expreſs'd eſteem. So that you may believe it no extraordinary tranſition in me, from making you in truth my oracle in publick affairs, to make you a thorough confident in my private. All therefore, that I am concerned for, in this bold attempt of yours, is for your own ſake; leſt your partiality to me, ſhou'd have made you too forward in ſhowing what was not ſo worthy of being ſeen as you imagine, and people are apt to think ſuch things are from deſign. For my own part, I cou'd not but wonder with my ſelf a great while (for I cou'd with difficulty recollect) what kind of a letter I had writ you: and it is really a ſolemn law, which I impoſe on my ſelf in reſpect of my near friends, never to write but with the freedom, haſtineſs, and incorrectneſs of common talk; that they may have all as it comes uppermoſt. And for this, I can appeal to my late letters, and all that I have writ you on my love ſubject: for I am confident, I never ſo much as read over one, that I wrote to you on that head. But be it as it will, if what happen'd was but natural (and of that you are beſt judge) I am ſatisfy'd; and hope it may prove for the beſt, as you ſeem ſo poſitively to aſſure. And

for the other part, my love affair, uſing the ſame good judgment you have in this as well as in the other, do as you judge beſt. I leave all to you: only ſhou'd be ſorry that you ran the leaſt hazard, in going too far out of doors this weather. And therefore beg that your zeal for me wou'd not puſh you, to what wou'd be a real trouble for me to hear. Take your time, uſe your own way, act for me with full power, and report your judgment. Let. 8.

If I have that intereſt you intimate in a * great man, I can aſſure you as well for the publick's ſake, as for my own (in real love and obligation to him) I will not indulge my ſelf in any reſpect; but be a courtier to my utmoſt, and ſee him often at *St. James's*, *Kenſington*, *Windſor*, or where-ever he is. Only my health will not bear with any kind of attendance in winter-time, when I am forc'd to attend upon my ſelf; and by that care, and ſparing of my ſelf, have recover'd (when by nothing elſe I cou'd) out of the moſt languiſhing condition for three or four years: for which I have endur'd (and muſt endure it ſeems, becauſe of the ſingularity of my diſtemper) the judgment of the world, as one fantaſtical and ſplenetick. But my near friends, thoſe of all hours, and that ſee me in all circumſtances, can beſt witneſs for me as to that: tho' perhaps, now they are for advancing me in matrimony, they may magnify my bodily eſtate, at the hazard of that of my mind, which is leſs (they think) a fair lady's concern. But I like not the ſtratagem, and deſire to appear in truth what I am; only if I am more careful of my health againſt the time of ſuch an ingagement, I may be the more excus'd: and indeed it is but after all what is neceſſary to preſerve me, if I am worth preſerving for any good I can do the publick, or

* Lord treaſurer.

Let. 8. my friends. Never any one cou'd more juſtly aſk that leave, which you yourſelf aſk of me,

* —— *Ægrotare timenti*, &c.

And therefore, I hope as ſoon as the hardeſt of the winter has ſpent itſelf (which is ſpending apace) I ſhall return,

† *Cum zephyris, ſi concedes, & hirundine prima.*

Forgive this habit of long letters, which you have encourag'd. I reſt

Faithfully yours,

SHAFTESBURY.

* Hor. lib. 1. ep. 7. ver. 4. † Ibid. ver. 13.

LETTER IX.

Dear SIR, St. Giles's, Feb. 21. 1708-9.

HOW ſhall I ſufficiently acknowledge the kind ſervices you have lately done me? You may well ſay indeed, that you love not *to do things by halves*. I am ſure you are an intire friend; and I am not ſurpriz'd to find you ſo: for when my acquaintance with you was only upon publick affairs, I never found you a half-patriot. We were then fellow-ſufferers, for being *ſo wholly* what we pretended: and the world, I believe, has made us but little amends ſince. 'Tis pleaſant to imagine, that, if we have met with better fortune, it has been by means of one another. Wou'd I cou'd make it indeed thoroughly reciprocal! for, on my ſide, I may truly ſay, that the firſt turning of the ſtream, which had run againſt me, was by your hand; and in this moſt deſperate caſe (which was the injury I receiv'd in an injur'd friend) you inſtantly ſet all right; and what I had with pain, and trouble, and all manner of ill uſage, been ſoliciting for many years, you accompliſh'd for me in a few weeks, and gave me my firſt friend at court. After this miracle, I have had faith enough to think you might do any thing. Indeed I did not think you cou'd have conquer'd ſnows and froſts, and have brav'd the hardeſt winter-

Let. 9. weather. Yet 'twas in this ſeaſon that you made ſuch a ſucceſsful ſally for me, and gave me ſo good an account of my affairs, which I was almoſt come to think wholly deſperate.

But your ſhort and long letter (which have both come ſafe to me) as well as the account receiv'd from my friends the poſt before, give me new hopes. I wiſh I cou'd anſwer as well in the matter of my health, as I can in all other reſpects, where you have kindly been undertaker and guarantee for me. If I am more careful of my health now than before, 'tis becauſe I have this occaſion: and that the more than ordinary care I have had of it of late, has ſucceeded ſo well with me. This I am ſure of, that I am ſo far from being averſe to live in the world, and to have a ſhare in the converſe and affairs of it; that had I a wife that was diſcreet, and good, and capable of advice, I ſhou'd more than any one be deſirous of her being much in the world, and ſupplying that part for me. My bookiſhneſs has ſo little reaſon to fright any one, that if I had ever been of a temper to love books, better than the converſation of my friends and relations; I am now really neceſſitated to lay them by, for no body wants little amuſements more than I do. And tho' on account of my mind I cou'd boaſt perhaps, that, in the greateſt ſolitude, I cou'd vie with any one for eaſe and cheerfullneſs; yet ſince the change that happen'd in my health, I am not able to apply as formerly; nor even ſtudy above an hour at a time, or hardly as much more in a whole day. And I, who had gone thro' the diverſions and entertainment of ſome courts, and foreign countries, and in the company of ladies, without ever once playing at cards, or knowing any ſuch thing as play; I'm of late become a card-player with the women, and am better qualify'd for chat with them, than for ſpeeches in a parliament or works in a ſtudy. Thus moſt things have their

convenience and inconvenience. 'Tis certain, that in many reſpects I may be ſaid to make a better huſband now, that my hands are ty'd; than I ſhou'd have done, if I had been left to act to the utmoſt of my ſtrength in politicks. There is a ſelfiſhneſs in the love that is paid a wife, and in the attendance on a family, and all the little affairs of it; which, had I my full ſcope of action in the publick, I ſhou'd hardly have ſubmitted to. An honeſt man muſt certainly be the greateſt happineſs of an honeſt woman. But then, there is bitter too with the ſweet; for an honeſt man will love the publick, and act honeſtly in the publick: and if he does ſo, 'tis two to one but he is hard ſet, and perhaps ground between the parties; at leaſt he will have but a ſolicitous life of it. He can't ſo well *vacare uxori* as the knave: but then the knave will be a knave to her, and *vacare* to other women inſtead of her. And thus upon a *medium*, I look upon my ſelf as in reality better qualify'd than ever for a good huſband, if it be to a truly good woman, whoſe chief ſatisfaction wou'd be a converſible and chearful way of living, with a man who lov'd and valu'd her; and whoſe chief thoughts and time wou'd be beſtow'd on her and her children, and to make her life as agreeable as cou'd be to her ſelf, and her part in the world as conſiderable. Let. 9.

But to come to practice after my doctrine, you may depend upon it, I will not be long 'ere I return again to you: and tho' after a long abſence, and the death of an old ſervant who had all my affairs here in his hands, I have found things in great diſorder, I ſhou'd value no loſs of this kind. The weather ſeems now to break: and if the roads (as in a fortnight or three weeks they may be) become paſſable, and the weather tolerable, I will ſoon come and make my ſecond attempt, with all the ſtrength of friends that I can make on my ſide.

Let. 9. And if I can but have the leaſt kind help from within the place, we may be able to carry it.

'Tis a ſad caſe for ſuch a one as I am, to hang in ſuſpence in an affair of this kind, where I am ſo paſſionately engag'd. I find it worſe perhaps than another, becauſe I am ſo us'd to have my head free for publick affairs and thoughts of a larger kind. But I proteſt, tho' I have twenty things to ſay to you about the publick, I can't come out with one. Forgive me I beg you, and place it to the account of that zeal I have in an affair, you have thus forwarded, and is in your hands; as is intirely

Your oblig'd friend,

SHAFTESBURY.

LETTER X.

Dear SIR, *St. Giles's, March* 7. 1708-9.

I SHOU'D indeed have been concern'd very much at your ſilence, had I not known of your health by your friends and mine, with whom you lately din'd. I fear'd your conſtitution wou'd ſuffer by this extremity of weather, we have had. The town-ſmoke, I think, is no addition to this evil in your reſpect: but with me it wou'd have been deſtruction. The happineſs of a moſt healthy and warm, as well as pleaſant ſituation, where I am, and which I may really praiſe beyond any I have known in *England*, has preſerv'd me in better health this winter, than I cou'd have imagin'd. And I deſign to profit of the ſtock I have laid up, and come ſoon where I may have the happineſs of converſing with you. But now you have led me into the talk of friendſhip, and have ſo kindly expoſtulated with me about my thanks, let me in my turn expoſtulate too about your excuſes for your letters, or even for your omiſſion. I well know you wou'd not forget me, were there any thing that friendſhip requir'd. For the reſt, friendſhip requires that we ſhou'd be eaſy, and make each other ſo. 'Tis an injuſtice to a real friend, to deny one's ſelf the being lazy, when one has a

Let. 10. mind to it. I have profeſs'd to you, that I take that liberty my ſelf, and wou'd uſe it if there were occaſion. But beſides other inequalities that are between us, over and above thoſe you reckon'd up; conſider that, together with my full leiſure and retreat here in the country (by which means I have choice of hours to write when I fancy) I have alſo a ſecret and private intereſt that puſhes me forward to be writing to you, as often and as much as I can. I am aſham'd things ſhou'd ſtand ſo unequally between us: for you have not yet had a fair trial, what a correſpondent I ſhou'd prove upon equal terms, nor can I impute a ſingle letter of mine to mere friendſhip. But I am more aſham'd ſtill, when I, who ſhou'd make excuſes, am forc'd to receive 'em. See if you are not over-generous! for any one, beſides your ſelf, wou'd be apt to uſe a little raillery with a man in my circumſtances; that had ſuch an affair depending, and wholly in your hands. But I find you have too much gallantry, as well as friendſhip, to take the leaſt advantage of a lover; and are willing to place more to the account of friendſhip, than I can ſuffer without bluſhing. However, be ſecure of this; that when you take intentions inſtead of facts, you can never impute more to me in the way of friendſhip, than I really deſerve. And if I have not yet had the occaſion, of proving myſelf as I wou'd do to you in this reſpect; I am ſatisfy'd, if the occaſion offer'd, you wou'd not find me remiſs. In the mean time, pray uſe me with more indulgence, and ſhow me that you can uſe me as a friend, by writing only when you have a fancy, and no more than you have a fancy for. You can't imagine what a favour I ſhou'd take it, to receive a ſhorter and a worſe letter from you, than you wou'd write perhaps to any friend you had in the world beſides. 'Tis a law I ſet my ſelf with my near and intimate friends, to write in every humour, or neglect writ-

ing as I fancy: and from this ſettled negligence I grow a right correſpondent, and write when I ſcarce think of it, by making thus free with thoſe I write to. If you will take my humour as it runs, you ſhall have hearty thanks too into the bargain, for taking it off at this rate. Let me but have a ſmall ſcrap or ſcrawl (three or four ſizes below the firſt of your letters, after the late conference) and I ſhall think my ſelf not only favourably, but kindly and friendly dealt with. Let. 10.

* *Nardi parvus onyx eliciet cadum.*

The truth is, I long for another ſuch precious ſcrap, as I had after your firſt attempt for me; that if you are as ſucceſsful in a ſecond, and find that your good advice has made impreſſion, and that there be a real foundation of hope, I may come up quickly to make my ſecond attempt upon my old friend.

YOUR ſtory of friendſhip cou'd not but delight me, it being one of my darling † pieces: eſpecially being in an author, who, tho' he perpetually does all he can, to turn all morality and virtue into ridicule: is yet forc'd to pay this, and one or two more remarkable tributes of acknowledgment, to the principle of ſociety and friendſhip, which is the real principle of life; the end of life, and not (as ſome philoſophers wou'd have it) the means. *Horace* in his wild days was of another opinion: but when he came in a riper age to ſtate the queſtion,

‡ *Quidve ad amicitias, uſus rectumve trahat nos?*

* Hor. lib. iv. od. 12. ver. 17.

† This ſtory, which is well worth peruſing, is in *Lucian*'s *Toxaris*, or *diſcourſe of friendſhip*.

‡ Ibid. ver. 75.

Let. 10. he always gives it for the latter; and wou'd not allow virtue to be a mere name. Let who will deſpiſe friendſhip, or deny a ſocial principle; they will, if they are any thing ingenuous, be urg'd one time or another to confeſs the power of it: and if they enjoy it not themſelves, will admire or envy it in others. And when they have inverted the whole matter of life, and made friendſhips, and acquaintances, and alliances, ſerve only as a means to the great and ſole end of intereſt; they will find by certain tokens within their own breaſts, that they are ſhort of their true and real intereſts of life; for this is in reality,

Propter vitam vivendi perdere cauſas.

Yoūr judgment too, of the firſt of the parts in the ſtory of friendſhip, is in my opinion perfectly juſt. My natural ambition in friendſhip, made me wiſh to be the poor man rather of the two: tho' ſince I have lately had to deal with a rich one, I have wiſh'd often to change parts; and keeping the wealth I have, wou'd fain have my old friend to be heartily poor, and accordingly make an experiment of me by ſuch a legacy. But I am afraid, he hardly thinks me capable of accepting of it: or if he did, I know not whether he wou'd think the more favourably of me. Mine is a hard caſe indeed, when I am on one ſide oblig'd to act ſo diſintereſs'd a part; and yet muſt be careful on the other ſide, leſt for not loving money, I ſhou'd be thought an ill ſon-in-law, and unfit to be intruſted with any thing. Thus you ſee I mix love and philoſophy: and ſo I ſhou'd politicks and publick affairs with private, if my place at this time was not the country, and yours the town. However, I can't forbear intreating you to ſend me word, whether the propoſal about * *Dunkirk* was from

* The demoliſhing of its fortifications and ruining

our friend in the miniſtry or not? for I heard he diſlik'd it, or ſeem'd to do ſo; and for the laſt there may be good reaſon, as he is a ſtateſman: for the former, I can ſee none, but am rather inclin'd to think, that as a generous and true ſtateſman, he had for many reaſons (in reſpect of foreign and home affairs) contriv'd that the propoſal ſhou'd ſeem to have its riſe from a popular heat; rather than from the cabinet council, and as a deliberate thought. But if my own thought of it be found, 'tis in the way of friendſhip ſtill: for I cou'd wiſh a friend the happineſs of being author of every publick good, that was poſſible for him, and not to be a hindrance or obſtruction to any. Let. 11.

To conclude, one word about my private affair, and I ha' done for this time. I beg you, when you have been your viſits, and made your utmoſt effort to ſee what foundation I may hope for, you wou'd write me a line inſtantly. For tho' I have private affairs of ſome conſequence, that ſhou'd keep me here at leaſt a month or ſix weeks longer, I will deſpiſe all of that kind: and, now the roads are paſſable and weather tolerable, will come up at a week's warning; if a man who loves and admires is known, tho' never ſeen, can poſſibly be favor'd, or thought to deſerve. For if ſo, the cauſe is nobler, and there is a better foundation for acting boldly.

Adieu, Adieu.

of its harbour, which was firſt propos'd in the unaccompliſh'd treaties of the *Hague* and *Gertruydenburg*, 1703.

LETTER XI.

Dear SIR, *Beachworth, June* 3. 1709.

'TIS now long ſince I had fix'd my thoughts on nothing, but the happineſs of ſeeing you; and profiting of thoſe advantages, which the perfecteſt friendſhip, with the greateſt addreſs, and indefatigable pains, had compaſs'd in my half. There was nothing I might not have hop'd from ſuch a foundation as you had laid: and all the enchantments in the world cou'd not have held proof, had my ſad fate allow'd me but to have follow'd my guide, and executed what my general had ſo ably deſign'd. But not a ſtar, but has been my enemy. I had hardly got over the unnatural winter, but with all the zeal imaginable I diſpatch'd my affairs, and came up from the weſt, thinking to ſurprize you by a viſit. The hurry I came away in, and the fatigue of more than ordinary buſineſs, I was forc'd to diſpatch that very morning I ſet out, join'd with the ill weather which return'd again upon my journey, threw me into one of my ill fits of the *aſthma*, and almoſt kill'd me on the road. After a few weeks I got this over, and my hopes reviv'd: and laſt week I went to *Chelſey*, paid my viſit next day to the old man, found him not at home, reſolv'd to redouble my viſits, and once more endeavour to move him.

But the winds return'd to their old quarter, I had *London* ſmoke on me for a day or two; grew extremely ill with it, and was forc'd to retire hither, where I have but juſt recover'd breath. Let. 11.

WHAT ſhall I do in ſuch a caſe? To trouble you further, I am aſham'd; aſham'd too, that I ſhou'd have puſh'd ſuch an affair, to which my ſtrength was ſo little ſuitable: and yet aſham'd to deſiſt, after what I have done, and the vaſt trouble I have put you to. But fortune has at length taught me that leſſon of philoſophy, *to know my ſelf*, my conſtitution I mean: for my mind (in this reſpect at leaſt) I know full well. And I wiſh in all other things I cou'd be as unerring and perfect, as I have been in this affair; in which I am certain no ambition, or thought of intereſt, has had any part: though it may look as if all my aim had been fortune, and not the perſon and character of the lady, as I have pretended. But in this I dare almoſt ſay with aſſurance, *you know my heart*. Whether the lady does or ever will, God knows: for I have ſcarce the heart left to tell it her, had I the opportunity.

So much for my ſad fortune.

I HOPE however to be at *Chelſey* again in a few days, and I long for the happineſs of ſeeing you there: for I have no hopes of being able to wait on you at your lodgings.

IF the Queen goes ſoon to *Windſor*, I hope ſoon to ſee the great man, our friend; whom I can eaſier viſit there, than at St. *James*'s. He has been ſo kind to enquire after me with particular favour, and has ſent me a kind meſſage in relation to publick affairs.

I am, dear SIR,
Your moſt obliged friend,
and faithful humble ſervant,
SHAFTESBURY.

LETTER XII.

My dear Friend, *Chelſey, June* 15. 1709.

I WAS this day to wait again on my old lord. I found him as civil and obliging as ever. But when I came to make mention of my affair, I found this ſubject was uneaſy to him. I did but take occaſion, when he ſpoke in praiſe of my little houſe and ſtudy, to tell him I built it in a different view from what his lordſhip knew me to have of late: for I had then (I told him) no thoughts beyond a ſingle life. I wou'd have added, that ſince I was unhappy in my firſt offer, and had turned my thoughts as I had lately done, when I flattered my ſelf in the hopes of his favour, I cou'd no longer enjoy the place or his neighbourhood, with the ſatisfaction I had done before. —— But I found he was deaf on this ear. He ſeemed to expreſs all the uneaſineſs that cou'd be, and I cou'd go no further. I ſee there is no hope left for me. If he thought any one ſincere, I believe I might be as likely as any one to be truſted by him. But I am afraid he thinks but the worſe of me, for pretending to value his daughter as I do: and for proteſting, that I wou'd be glad to take her without a farthing, preſent or future; and yet ſettle all I have, as I have offer'd him. He will not eaſily find ſuch a friend and ſon-in-law; one that has ſuch a regard for him and his.

Let. 12.

But ſo it muſt be. He may ſuffer perhaps as well as I. There is no help for this, when men are too crafty to ſee plain; and too intereſted, to ſee their real friends and intereſt. I ſhall ſoon ſhew my ſincerity in one reſpect, if I live: for ſince I cannot have the woman I have ſeen and liked, I may determine perhaps on one I have never ſeen; and take a lady for a character only without a fortune (which I want not) ſince you and other friends are ſo kindly importunate, and preſſing, on this concern of mine.

But of this more when I ſee you next, with a thouſand acknowledgments and thanks, for the thorough friendſhip you have ſhown; and what is ſo truly friendſhip, that I almoſt think I injure it, when I ſpeak of thanks and acknowledgments.

You will have me take all of this kind in another manner: and therefore on the ſame foot, I expect you ſhould take all that I have done or ever can do, without ceremony, and as

Your faithful friend,

and humble ſervant,

SHAFTESBURY.

LETTER XIII.

My dear Friend, *Beachworth, July* 19. 1709.

I CAN hardly be reconcil'd to you, for ſaying ſo much as you have done, to expreſs your concern for the diſappointment of my grand affair. I am not ſo ill a friend, nor have liv'd ſo little in the world, as not to know by experience, that a diſappointment in a friend's concern, is often of more trouble to one, than in one's own. And I was ſo ſatisfy'd this was our caſe, that I was willing to diminiſh the loſs, and make as ſlight of it as poſſible; the better to comfort you, and prevent your being too much concern'd at what had happen'd. As to the fortune, I might ſincerely have done it; but as to the lady, I own the loſs is great enough: for beſides her character and education, ſhe was the firſt I turn'd my thoughts upon, after the promiſe you had drawn from me the year before; when you join'd with ſome friends of mine, in kindly preſſing me to think of the continuance of a family. Methinks now, I might be acquitted, after this attempt I have made. But you have taken occaſion from the ill ſucceſs of it, to prove how much more ſtill you are my friend, in deſiring to make the moſt of me, while I live, and keep what you can of me for memory-ſake afterwards.

This is the kindeſt part in the world: and I can't bring my ſelf ſo much as to ſuppoſe a poſſibility of your flattering me. I have an eaſy faith in friendſhip. My friends may diſpoſe of me as they pleaſe, when they thus lay claim to me: and whilſt they find me of any uſe to them, or think I have any power ſtill to ſerve mankind or my country, in ſuch a ſphere as is yet left for me; I can live as happy in a crazy ſtate of health, and out of the way of pleaſures and diverſions, as if I enjoy'd 'em in the higheſt degree. If marriage can be ſuitable to ſuch a circumſtance of life, I am content to engage. I muſt do my beſt, to render it agreeable to thoſe I ingage with: and my choice, I am ſenſible, ought for this reaſon to be as you have wiſely preſcrib'd for me. I muſt reſolve to ſacrifice other advantages, to obtain what is principal and eſſential in my caſe. Let. 13.

WHAT other people will ſay of ſuch a match, I know not; nor what motive they will aſſign for it, when intereſt is ſet aſide. Love, I fear, will be ſcarce a tolerable pretence in ſuch a one as I am: and for a family, I have a brother ſtill alive, whom I may have ſtill ſome hopes of. What a weakneſs then wou'd it be thought in me, to marry with little or no fortune, and not in the higheſt degree of quality neither? Will it be enough that I take a breeder out of a good family, with a right education, fit for a mere wife; and with no advantages but ſimple innocence, modeſty, and the plain qualities of a good mother, and a good nurſe? This is as little the modern reliſh, as that old faſhion'd wife of *Horace*'s,

* *Sabina qualis, aut peruſta ſolibus*
Pernicis uxor Appuli.

Can you or my friends, who preſs me to this, bear me out in it? See, if with all the notions of vir-

* Epod. ii. ver. 41.

Let. 13. tue (which you, more than any one, have help'd to propagate in this age) it be poſſible to make ſuch an affair paſs tolerable in the world! The experiment, however ſhall be made, if I live out this ſummer: and you ſhall hear me ſay, as the old batchelor in the *Latin Menander*, with a little alteration,

* *Etſi hoc* moleſtum,— *atque alienum a vita mea Videtur; ſi vos tantopere iſtuc voltis, fiat.*

You ſee upon what foot of friendſhip I treat you. Judge whether it be neceſſary for you hereafter to ſay much in order to convince me, what a friend you are: and for my own part, I have reduc'd you, I am confident, to the neceſſity of believing me, either the moſt inſincere of all men, or the moſt faithfully

Your friend and

humble ſervant,

SHAFTESBURY.

I miſs'd our great friend, when I was laſt to viſit him at St. *James*'s. I intend for *Windſor* very ſoon, if I am able.

* Terent. Adelp. act. 5. ſcen. 8. ver. 21.

LETTER XIV.

Dear SIR, *Reygate* in *Surrey*, *Nov.* 1. 1709.

IF I have had any real joy in my new ſtate, it was then chiefly when I receiv'd yours, that wiſh'd it me. The two or three friends, whom, beſides your ſelf, I pretend to call by that name, were ſo much parties to the affair, and ſo near me, that their part of congratulation was in a manner anticipated. Happily you were at a good diſtance, and *point de vue*, to ſee right: for as little truſt as I allow to the common friendſhip of the world, I am ſo preſumptuous in this caſe of a near and intimate friend; that inſtead of miſtruſting their affection, I am rather afraid of its rendering them too partial. The intereſt and part, which I believe them ready to take in my concern, makes me wiſh 'em ſometimes to ſee me (as they ſhou'd do themſelves) from a diſtance, and in a leſs favourable light. So that although I have had *godfathers* to my match, I have not been *confirm'd* till I had your approbation: and though (thank GOD) I have had faith to believe my ſelf a good Chriſtian, without epiſcopal confirmation; I ſhould have thought my ſelf an ill huſband, and but half marry'd, if I had not receiv'd your concluding ſentence, and friendly bleſſing. In good earneſt (for to you I am not aſham'd to ſay it) I have for ma-

Let. 14. ny years known no other pleaſure, or intereſt, or ſatisfaction, in doing any thing; but as I thought it right, and what became me to my friends and country. Not that I think, I had the leſs pleaſure for this reaſon; but honeſty will always be thought a melancholly thing to thoſe, who go but half way into the reaſon of it; and are honeſt by chance, or by force of nature, not by reaſon and conviction. Were I to talk of marriage, and forc'd to ſpeak my mind plainly, and without the help of humour or raillery; I ſhou'd doubtleſs offend the moſt part of ſober marry'd people, and the ladies chiefly: for I ſhou'd in reality think I did wonders, in extolling the happineſs of my new ſtate, and the merit of my wife in particular; by ſaying, *that I verily thought my ſelf as happy a man now as ever.* And is not that ſubject enough of joy! What wou'd a man of ſenſe wiſh more? For my own part, if I find any ſincere joy, 'tis becauſe I promis'd my ſelf no other, than the ſatisfaction of my friends; who thought my family worth preſerving, and my ſelf worth nurſing in an indifferent crazy ſtate, to which a wife (if a real good one) is a great help. Such a one I have found: and if by her help or care, I can regain a tolerable ſhare of health; you may be ſure it will be employ'd as you deſire, ſince my marriage it ſelf was but a means to that end.

I HAVE defer'd three or four poſts the anſwering yours, in expectation of reporting ſomething to you from our great lord, to whom I had lately ſent a letter; he having before let me know, that he wou'd ſoon write to me upon ſomething of moment: but as yet I have heard nothing. Only, as oft as he ſees a friend of ours, he enquires after me with particular kindneſs. I am now at ſuch a convenient diſtance from him, whether he be at St. *James*'s, *Kenſington*, or *Windſor*; that, when the weather and wind ſerves for me, and I am to-

lerably well, I can in four or five hours driving be ready to attend him. Other attendance I am not, you know, capable of; nor can I expect ſuch a change of health, as that comes to: for ſincerely it depends on that alone. As proudly as I have carry'd my ſelf to other miniſters, I cou'd as willingly paſs a morning waiting at his levee, as any where elſe in the world. Let. 14.

When laſt I was with him at *Windſor*, you may be ſure, I cou'd not omit ſpeaking to him of your ſelf. The time I had with him was much interrupted by company. I know not how my intereſt, on ſuch a foot as this, is like to grow: but I am certain it ſhall not want any cultivating, which an honeſt man, and in my circumſtances, can poſſibly beſtow upon it. If he has, or comes to have any good opinion of my capacity or knowledge, he muſt withal regard me in the choice I make of friends. And if it happens, as fortunately as it has done, that the chief friend I have, and the firſt whom I conſider in publick affairs, was previouſly his own acquaintance and prov'd friend; one wou'd think, he ſhou'd afterwards come to ſet a higher value upon him: and ſince he cannot have one always near him, who gladly wou'd be ſo; he will oblige another, who is willing and able. And in reality, if at this time your coming up depends only on his wiſh (as you tell me) and the commands he may have for you; I ſhall much wonder if he forgets the advantage, or thinks he can diſpenſe with your preſence at ſuch a time.

Your character of lord Wharton is very generous. I am glad to hear ſo well of him. If ever I expected any publick good, where virtue was wholly ſunk, 'twas in his character: the moſt myſterious of any in my account, for this reaſon. But I have ſeen many proofs of this monſtrous compound in him, of the very worſt and beſt. A

Let. 14. thouſand kind thanks to you in my own and ſpouſe's name, for your kind thoughts of ſeeing us. I add only my repeated ſervice and good wiſhes, as

Your old and faithful friend,

and obliged humble ſervant,

SHAFTESBURY.

TWO LETTERS FROM Sir JOHN CROPLEY.

LETTER I.

Dear SIR,

MY lord SHAFTESBURY has desir'd me, to make you his excuse at this time; and I am sure when I tell you what hinders him, you will be more pleas'd with a letter from me, than with any you have ever had from him. However, I know in a post or two he will do it himself; and tell you he is come acquainted with a person that has every qualification, but equality of fortune, to make her a sutable match. I believe no man ever had a surer prospect of his own and family's happiness. I am only concern'd that so good a friend as you, are not here, to be that way a partaker with my self of this; and my lord laments it himself as much. His health, which is our best article, is become so good this weather, that he has been able to make his *Windsor* journey, without hurting himself: and the good impression your friend, my lord treasurer, made at

Let. 1. firſt on my lord, daily increaſes. And I muſt own, ſince our friend has ſteer'd by our compaſs, and has taken this reſolution at our requeſt, and for his country's good, I wiſh it was as ſuch told your friend my lord treaſurer; and the more, ſince I find my lord SHAFTESBURY is deſirous of cultivating all ways the foot they now ſtand on. I wou'd * not have this paſs for a light act, which in it ſelf is ſo far from it. And I muſt ſay again, the choice is ſo good in all reſpects but that one, which my lord is very well able to diſpenſe with, that even ſome *whig* friends that don't love him (whatever they pretend) for ſo often putting them out of countenance, and arraigning their conduct, will not be able to wound him at all: tho', as a ſincere friend to my lord SHAFTESBURY, I muſt own 'tis the only place I fear hurt from; and ſo, am the more willing to put you in mind of this fence againſt it. If your occaſions ſhou'd be ſo preſſing, to get the better of your inclinations, and keep you from doing this in the beſt way; yet I hope, in your correſponding with my lord treaſurer, you will remember this by the very firſt opportunity. My lord SHAFTESBURY is now at *Beachworth*. I ſhall be with him to-morrow: and Mr. MICKLETHWAYT, who is now here, will have me add his humble reſpects. I can ſay, no man is with greater faithfulneſs, gratitude, and reſpect, than my ſelf,

Dear SIR,

Your moſt humble and

Red Lyon Square, *moſt obedient ſervant,*

16th *of Auguſt.* J. CROPLEY.

I won't pretend to give you news, but MICK ſays we have none. I beg my beſt reſpects and good wiſhes to your ſons.

* Meaning lord SHAFTESBURY's marriage.

LETTER II.

Dear SIR, *October* the 6th.

THE marriage of our friend muſt be my excuſe, for no ſooner acknowledging ſo kind a letter, as I about that time receiv'd from you. But really, as private and as little to do as there was done in it, yet it gave me more buſineſs than I expected. You muſt long 'ere this know, that his lady is a daughter of Mr. EWER of *Hertfordſhire*, where that family have been ſeated ever ſince HENRY the 7th's time. I gave you, I remember, a pretty full account of all, but her name, in my letter: ſo that I will only now ſay of it, that I believe no man ever had a wife, that his own life and happineſs wou'd go on more the ſame, and undiſturb'd in all parts of it, than he has. My lord, by going too ſoon unto his *Reygate* houſe, got a ſevere cold; but he's ſo perfectly recover'd, as to be much better than I have ſeen him in ſome years paſt. You wou'd now be as much rejoic'd, and indeed ſurpriz'd, to ſee the good ſigns of health in him; as you were concern'd, in ſeeing him laſt at *Chelſey*. The change is ſo great, that I don't doubt but the publick too, one way or other, will have good ſigns of it. My lord treaſurer has moſt kindly writ to congratulate him; and my lord has writ a letter in anſwer, with more perſonal ho-

Let. 2. nour and eſteem, than I am ſure he ever writ a miniſter before. By the way, now I am ſpeaking of compliments, on this occaſion I hear a certain perſon, at your lord * lieutenant's, gave a pretty odd account of the lady, or rather of my lord; by ſaying, ſhe was far from being young. Indeed if that had been wanting in any match, it wou'd have made it a ſad affair. But ſhe is but twenty. So I can't but fancy, ſome odd wrong perſon muſt have been nam'd for him: or is it not a feature of the old leaven, a breaking out of ſome old *whiggiſm*, for paſt ſins committed, that can never be forgiven? And this was more ſtrange, to make ſuch a deliberate act of his, and that he was ſo difficult to be brought to, paſs for a ſudden raſh one, when youth was alſo taken away. But ſome are ſo keen and envious of characters, as to be ſometimes pretty prepoſterous in their ſchemes to defame by. My lord is now with me, and enjoins me to give you his moſt faithful reſpects and thanks, for all your kind concern and good wiſhes. I am with unfeign'd reſpect and ſincerity,

Dear SIR,

Your moſt faithful, obedient,

humble ſervant,

J. CROPLEY.

* At lord WHARTON's.

LETTERS

OF THE

Earl of SHAFTESBURY,

Taken from the Account of his LIFE in the *General Dictionary*.

An extract of a letter to * THOMAS STRINGER, *esq;*

London, Feb. the 15th, 1695.

I WILL not trouble you any farther now, nor indeed have I time. We have got a bill to be engroſſed, which lays an incapacity on the elector (as the late paſſed act does on the elected) in caſe of corruption, meat, drink, *&c.* and which obliges the knights of the ſhire to have 500 l. a year, or the inheritance of it, as freehold within the county, and a burgeſs 200 l. a year ſomewhere at leaſt in *England* on the ſame terms. You could, I believe, ſcarcely imagine with your ſelf, who theſe are in the world, or who they are in the houſe, who oppoſe this, and all other ſuch bills as this might and main; and who they are, that are

* A gentleman who had held an office under the lord chancellor SHAFTESBURY.

Let. 1. condemned of flying in the face of the government, as they call it, by being for ſuch things as theſe are, and preſſing ſuch hard things on the prerogative or court. In ſhort, you would hardly believe, that your poor friend, that now writes to you, has ſentence (and bitter ſentence too) every day paſſing upon him, for going, as you may be ſure he goes and ever will go on ſuch occaſions as theſe; whatever party it be, that is in, or out at court, that is in poſſeſſion of the places, and afraid of loſing their daily bread by not being ſervile enough, or that are out of places, and think, by croſſing the court, and ſiding with good and popular things againſt it, to get into thoſe places of profit and management. No more. My kind ſervice to Mrs. STRINGER, and my ſervice too to your ſon.

I am

your ſincere friend, &c.

A. ASHLEY.

A Letter to the Earl of OXFORD.

MY LORD, *Reygate, March* 29, 1711.

THE honour you have done me in many kind inquiries after my health, and the favour you have ſhewn me lately, in forwarding the only means I have left for my recovery, by trying the air of a warmer climate, obliges me e'er I leave *England* to return your lordſhip my moſt humble thanks and acknowledgments in this manner, ſince I am unable to do it in a better. I might perhaps, my lord, do injuſtice to my ſelf, having had no opportunity of late years to pay my particular reſpects to you, if I ſhould attempt any otherwiſe to compliment your lordſhip on the late honours you have received, than by appealing to the early acquaintance and ſtrict correſpondence I had once the honour to maintain with you and your family, for which I had been bred almoſt from my infancy to have the higheſt regard. Your lordſhip well knows my principles and behaviour from the firſt hour I engaged in any publick concern, and with what zeal I ſpent ſome years of my life in ſupporting your intereſt, which I thought of greater moment to the publick, than my own, or family's could ever be. What the natural effects are of private friendſhip ſo founded, and what the conſequence of different opinions intervening, your lordſhip, who is ſo good a judge of men and things, can better reſolve with yourſelf, than I can poſſibly ſuggeſt.

Let. 2. And being ſo knowing in friends, (of whom your lordſhip has acquired ſo many) you can recollect how thoſe ties or obligations have been hitherto preſerved towards you, and whoſe friendſhips, affections, and principles, you may for the future beſt depend upon in all circumſtances and variations publick and private. For my own part, I ſhall ſay only, that I very ſincerely wiſh you all happineſs, and can with no man living congratulate more heartily on what I account real honour and proſperity. Your conduct of the publick will be the juſt earneſt and inſurance of your greatneſs and power; and I ſhall then chiefly congratulate with your lordſhip on your merited honours and advancement, when by the happy effects it appears evidently in the ſervice of what cauſe, and for the advantage of what intereſt they were acquired and employed. Had I been to wiſh by what hands the publick ſhould have been ſerved, the honour of the firſt part (your lordſhip well knows) had fallen to you long ſince. If others, from whom I leaſt hoped, have done greatly and as became them, I hope, if poſſible, you will ſtill exceed all they have performed, and accompliſh the great work ſo gloriouſly begun and carried on for the reſcue of liberty, and the deliverance of *Europe* and mankind. And in this preſumption I cannot but remain with the ſame zeal and ſincerity as ever,

My Lord, &c.

A letter to the Lord GODOLPHIN.

MY LORD, *Reygate, May* 27, 1711.

BEING about to attempt a journey to *Italy* to try what a warmer climate (if I am able to reach it) may do towards the reſtoring me a little breath and life, it is impoſſible for me to ſtir hence, till I have acquitted myſelf of my reſpects the beſt I can to your lordſhip, to whom alone, had I but ſtrength enough to make my compliments, and pay a day's attendance in town, I ſhould think myſelf ſufficiently happy in my weak ſtate of health. I am indeed, my lord, little able to render ſervices of any kind; nor do I pretend to offer myſelf in ſuch a capacity to any one, except your lordſhip only. But could I flatter myſelf that e'er I parted hence, or while I paſſed through *France*, or ſtay'd in *Italy*, I could any where, in the leaſt trifle, or in the higheſt concern, render any manner of ſervice to your lordſhip, I ſhould be proud of ſuch a commiſſion. Sure I am, in what relates to your honour and name (if that can receive ever any advantage from ſuch an hand as mine) your publick as well as private merit will not paſs unremembred into whatever region or climate I am transferred. No one has a more thorough knowledge in that kind than myſelf, nor no one there is, who on this account has a juſter

Let. 31 right to profeſs himſelf, as I ſhall ever do, with higheſt obligation and moſt conſtant zeal,

My Lord,

Your Lordſhip's moſt faithful

and moſt obedient,

humble ſervant,

SHAFTESBURY.

PREFACE

To Dr. WHICHCOT's ſelect Sermons,

First publiſhed in the year 1698.

By the Earl of SHAFTESBURY.

AMONGST thoſe many things which are made publick; it may be thought, perhaps, of *ſermons;* that they are, of any other, the leaſt wanted; and, for the future, leaſt likely to be found wanting: ſince to that rich and inexhauſtible ſtore, with which the learned and orthodox divines of *England* have already furniſhed us, there is daily freſh addition, from worthy and able hands. Neither have we cauſe to fear a ceſſation in this kind; or that ſo great a bleſſing is likely to fail us, for the future; having ſuch ſecurity, not only from the unwearied zeal of preſent divines (of whom we may always hope a worthy ſucceſſion) but, from the juſt eſteem which the publick never fails to ſhew for ſuch pious diſcourſes. Upon which account, we find that many of theſe are every day made publick; and, as it were, forced into the world; notwithſtanding the great modeſty of their authors, whoſe humble thoughts, and devoutly reſigned affections, lead them not towards eminence and advancement in the world.

IT may ſeem ſtrange therefore, that in ſuch an age as this, any one ſhould be ſo officious, as to

ſearch after, and publiſh the ſermons of a man long ſince dead, who (himſelf) never meant to publiſh any; or thought ſo highly of himſelf, as that he could benefit the world by ſuch a publication.

It is certain, that we muſt not ever imagine, nor can it enter into a mind truly Chriſtian, that becauſe we ſee not an apparent change for the better, in the lives of Chriſtian profeſſors; that, therefore all *preaching* is ineffectual; or, that here in *England*, the labours of the moſt eminent divines that perhaps the world ever afforded, have been of no uſe at all: it might be ſaid with the ſame reaſon (though very profanely and wickedly) that becauſe the Chriſtians are not reported to exceed the other nations of the world, in probity, and good living; but are ſaid to be rather inferior in this reſpect, to the civilized people, whether Pagan or Mahometan, lying round them; that therefore the Chriſtian religion is of no effect at all, nor any ways operative upon the lives of its profeſſors.

But, if we conſider this as becomes us; and not perverſely, as many do; it will be found that we are, even in this ſenſe, the moſt highly indebted to *Chriſtianity;* and ſhould look upon *it* as the greateſt bleſſing imaginable; not only for its ſpiritual advantages, which are unſpeakable; but for its temporal benefits and ſecurities; in as much as that mankind being ſo inclinable to ill, we ſhould have a religion ſo full of all good precepts, and ſo enforcing with reſpect to all the duties of morality and juſtice. So that our amazement ought rather to be; how men, with ſuch a religion, ſhould lead ſuch lives! and how malice, hatred or diviſion, ſhould have place in ſuch ſocieties as theſe; which we might expect to ſee diſtinguiſh'd from all others, rather by a perfect harmony and agreement, than by the fierceſt quarrels, contentions and animoſities.

And, indeed, when we conſider the nature of *preaching*; how excellent an order and eſtabliſhment it is; how highly raiſed and magnified in the Chriſtian world: when we conſider numbers of holy men ſet apart for this great work; having all advantages given them, the better to ſet forth thoſe glorious truths of revelation, and to create a reverence of religion in the minds of men; when we conſider the ſolemnity of a church-aſſembly, and the awful preſence and authority of the Chriſtian orator; we may be apt to wonder perhaps, why we ſee not greater and more happy effects hereof, in the world. However we muſt of neceſſity conclude, that *this inſtitution* being undoubtedly ſo powerful a ſupport of our religion; if ſuch aſſemblies as theſe were not upheld, if ſuch authority as this did not ſubſiſt, the conſequence would be, that as in a little time there would be no more Chriſtianity left in the world, ſo neither any morality; ſince, notwithſtanding all the helps of *preaching*, and the aſſiſtance and ſupport which virtue receives from hence, the lives of men are ſtill ſo far from being reform'd, and the world ſo little improved, in theſe latter ages.

But, how reverently ſoever we have cauſe to think concerning *this inſtitution*, and the undoubted good effects of it upon mankind; and, whatever high opinion and eſteem we may juſtly have of their performance in whoſe hands this power is placed; it ſeems not wholly impoſſible, but that there may be ſome defect in this great affair; and that the cauſes of ill ſucceſs may not ly altogether in the depravity, perverſeneſs, or ſtupidity of mankind, who are the hearers and readers of theſe doctrines.

In ſome countries, and amongſt ſome ſorts of Chriſtians, we have ſeen, that the whole of *this inſtitution* has not been appropriated to ſpirituals; but, that a great part of thoſe divine exhortations

have had ſomething in common with the policies of the world, and the affairs of government. And, of whatſoever benefit this may have been to mankind, or to the peace of the Chriſtian world; it muſt be own'd that *preaching* itſelf, will be ſo much the leſs apt to make any happy revolution in manners, as it has at any time been ſerviceable to revolutions in ſtate, or to the ſupport of any other intereſt than that of CHRIST's kingdom.

NOR do we find, ſince the arts of government, and myſteries of religion, have been thus ſuited together; that *either* has been much advantag'd by the union; it having never yet appeared, that divinity has been greatly better'd by policy; or that policy has been any where mended by divinity.

AMONGST thoſe writers who have been forward in making this unproſperous alliance, and building a political Chriſtianity; there has been * *one* of our nation (in the time wherein our author liv'd) who, whether he may have been ſerviceable any way to the civil government, or Chriſtian church; it may be concluded, at leaſt, that he has done but very ill ſervice in the moral world. And however other parts of philoſophy may be obliged to him, *ethicks* will appear to have no great ſhare in the obligation. He has, indeed with great zeal and learning, been oppoſed by all the eminent and worthy divines of the church of *England:* and had the ſame induſtry been applied to the correction of his moral principles, as has been beſtow'd in refuting ſome other of his errors, it might perhaps have been of more ſervice to religion, in the main.

THIS is *he* who reckoning up the paſſions or affections by which men are held together in ſociety, live in peace, or have any correſpondence one with another, forgot to mention kindneſs, friendſhip, ſociableneſs, love of company and converſe, natu-

* Mr. HOBBS.

ral affection, or any thing of this kind; I ſay *forgot*, becauſe I can ſcarcely think ſo ill of any man, as that he has not by experience found any of theſe affections in himſelf, and conſequently, that he believes none of them to be in others. But in the place of other affections, or good inclinations, of whatever kind, this author has ſubſtituted only one maſter-paſſion, *fear*, which has, in effect, devour'd all the reſt, and left room only for that infinite paſſion towards *power after power*, *natural* (as he affirms) *to all men, and never ceaſing but in death**. So much leſs *good nature* has he left with mankind, than what he allows the worſt of beaſts: having allotted to us, in the way of our nature, ſuch miſchievous paſſions as are unknown to them; and not ſo much as allowed us any degree of their good ones, ſuch as they all are known to have, and are never wanting to exert towards their own kind: by which excellency of nature (ſo little reckon'd upon, in the caſe of mankind) their common intereſt is duly ſerved, and their ſpecies propagated and maintain'd.

HAD not the poyſon of theſe immoral, and (in reality) *atheiſtical* principles been diffuſed more than 'tis eaſy to imagine, (at that time eſpecially when Dr. WHICHCOT appeared) we ſhould, perhaps, where morality was concerned, have heard leſs of *terror* and *puniſhment*; and more of *moral rectitude* and *good nature*. At leaſt, it ſhould not have grown cuſtomary to explode good nature, and detract from that good which is aſcribed to *natural* temper, and is accounted *natural affection*, as having ground and foundation in *mere* NATURE: on the contrary; it would have been the buſineſs of thoſe who had managed the cauſe of religion, to have contended for theſe

* Leviathan, *p.* 47.

better diſpoſitions; and to have ſhewn, how deep a root and foundation they had in human nature; and not, juſt contrary-wiſe, to have built on the ruin of *theſe*. For, with ſome people, this was then become a method to prove Chriſtianity. Revelation was to owe its eſtabliſhment to the depreſſion and lowering of ſuch principles as theſe, in the nature of man: and the weakneſs of theſe was made the ſtrength of religion. As if good nature, and religion, were enemies: a thing, indeed, ſo unthought of, amongſt the *heathens*; that PIETY (which was their beſt word to ſignify *religion*) had more than half its ſenſe, in natural and good affection; and ſtood not only for the adoration and worſhip of GOD; but for the natural affections of parents to their children, and of children to their parents; of men to their native country; and, indeed, of all men in their ſeveral relations one to another.

IT muſt be confeſs'd, that it has been the reproach of ſome ſects of Chriſtians amongſt us; that their religion appear'd to be, in a manner, oppoſite to good nature; and founded in moroſeneſs, ſelfiſhneſs, and ill-will to mankind; things, not eaſily reconcileable with a Chriſtian ſpirit. But, certainly, it may be ſaid of *the church of England*, if of any church in the world, that this is not *her* ſpirit: but, it is by characters and features juſt contrary to theſe, that *this church* ſhews herſelf, above all others, moſt worthily and nobly Chriſtian.

IT is certain, that there is nothing more contended for, by thoſe who would not willingly admit a Deity; nor is there any thing of greater uſe to them, in their way of reaſoning, than to have it paſs as current, that there are in man, no natural principles inclining him to ſociety; nothing that moves him to what is moral, juſt and honeſt; except a proſpect of ſome different good, ſome ad-

vantage of a different ſort from what attends the actions themſelves. Nor is it ſtrange, that they, who have brought themſelves off from ſo much as believing the reality of any ingenuous action, performed by any of mankind, merely through good affection, and a rectitude of temper; ſhould be backward to apprehend any goodneſs of that ſort, in a *higher nature* than that of *man*. But it is ſtrange to conceive, how men who pretend a notion and belief of a *ſupreme Power*, acting with the greateſt goodneſs, and without any inducement but that of love and good-will, ſhould think it unſuitable to a rational creature, derived from *him* to act after *his* example, and to find pleaſure and contentment in the works of goodneſs and bounty, without other proſpect. But, what is yet more unaccountable, is, that men who profeſs a religion where *love* is chiefly enjoined; where the heart is expreſly called for, and the outward action without that, is diſregarded; where charity (or kindneſs) is made all in all; that men of this perſuaſion ſhould combine to degrade the principle of good nature, and refer all to reward; which being made the only motive in man's actions, muſt exclude all worthy and generous diſpoſition, all that love, charity, and affection, which the ſcripture enjoins; and without which no action is *lovely* in the ſight of GOD, or man; or in itſelf deſerving of notice or kind reward.

BUT, perhaps, one reaſon of this misfortune has been; that ſome men, who have meant ſincerely well to religion and virtue, have been afraid, leaſt by advancing the principle of good nature, and laying too great a ſtreſs upon it, the apparent need of *ſacred revelation* (a thing ſo highly important to mankind) ſhould be, in ſome meaſure, taken away. So that they were forced in a manner, to *wound* VIRTUE, and give way to the imputation

of being *mercenary*, and of * *acting in a ſlaviſh ſpirit, in the ways of religion*, rather than admit a ſort of rival (in their ſenſe) to the faith of divine revelation: ſeeing that Chriſtianity (they thought) would, by this means be made leſs neceſſary to mankind; if it ſhould be allowed that men could find any happineſs in virtue, but what is in reverſion.

THUS, *one party* of men, fearing the conſequences which may be drawn from the acknowledgment of moral and ſocial principles in humankind, to the proof of a DEITY's exiſtence; and, *another party* fearing as much from thence, to the prejudice of revelation; *each* have in their turns *made war* (if I may ſay ſo) even on *virtue* itſelf: having exploded the principle of good nature; all enjoyment or ſatisfaction in acts of kindneſs and love; all notion of happineſs in temperate courſes and moderate deſires; and, in ſhort, all virtue or foundation of virtue; unleſs *that*, perhaps, be called *merit* or *virtue* which is left remaining, when all generoſity, free inclination, publick ſpiritedneſs, and every thing elſe beſides *private regard*, is taken away.

IF this may be ſaid to be our caſe, under this diſpute; and, that true religion itſelf (which is *love*) be thus endanger'd; and morality ſo ill treated, between two ſuch different and diſtant parties; if each of theſe, notwithſtanding their vaſt diſagreement, do yet, in this matter, ſo fatally agree, to decry human nature, and deſtroy the belief of any immediate good or happineſs in *virtue*, as a thing any way ſuitable to our make and conſtitution; there is, then, ſo much the more need of ſome great and known man to oppoſe this current. And, *here* it is that our *author* has appeared ſo ſignally. *Whatſoever* (ſays he) *ſome have ſaid*, man's nature *is not ſo untoward a thing* (*unleſs it be abuſed*) *but*

* Expreſſion of Dr. WHICHCOT's.

that there is a ſecret ſympathy *in human nature, with virtue and honeſty; which gives a man an intereſt even in bad men.* — GOD, *in infinite wiſdom, has ſo contrived; that, if an intellectual being ſink itſelf into ſenſuality, or any way defile and pollute itſelf; then, miſeries and torments ſhould beſal it,* in this ſtate. — VIRTUE *and* VICE (ſays he) *are the foundations of* peace *and* happineſs, *or* ſorrow *and* miſery. — *There is* inherent puniſhment *belonging to all* vice; *and no power can divide or ſeparate them. For, tho'* GOD *ſhould not, in a* poſitive way, *inflict puniſhment; or any inſtrument of* GOD *puniſh a ſinner; yet, he would* puniſh himſelf; *his miſery and unhappineſs would ariſe* from himſelf. — Thus ſpeaks our excellent divine, and truly Chriſtian philoſopher; whom, for his appearing thus in defence of *natural goodneſs*, we may call *the preacher of good nature.* This is what he inſiſts on, every where; and, to make this evident, is, in a manner, the ſcope of all his diſcourſes. And, in concluſion of all this; 'tis hoped that what has been here ſuggeſted, may be ſufficient to juſtify the printing of theſe ſermons.

AS for *our author* himſelf; what his *life* was; how great an example of that happy temper, and GOD-like diſpoſition, which he labour'd to inſpire; how much he was, for the excellency of his life, and admirable temper, eſteemed and beloved of all; and even in the worſt of times, when feuds and animoſities, on the account of religion, were higheſt (during the time of the late great troubles,) how his character and behaviour drew to him the reſpect of all parties, ſo as to make him be remarkably diſtinguiſhed; how much in eſteem he was with the greateſt men; and how many conſtant hearers he had of the beſt rank and greateſt note, even of the moſt eminent divines themſelves; this is ſufficiently known. And the teſtimony which

the late archbiſhop TILLOTSON has given of him, though it be in a funeral ſermon, is known to be in nothing ſuperior to his deſert.

THE *ſermons* which are here printed, have been ſelected out of numbers of others leſs perfect, there being not any of our author's extant, but ſuch as were written after him at church; he having uſed no other than very ſhort notes, not very legible; though theſe have been of great uſe to the publiſher, in whoſe hands they have been.

THE unpoliſh'd ſtile and phraſe of *our author*, who drew more from a college than a court; and who was more uſed to ſchool-learning, and the language of an univerſity, than to the converſation of the faſhionable world, may poſſibly but ill recommend his ſenſe to the generality of readers. And ſince none of theſe diſcourſes were ever deſigned for the world, in any other manner than as he (once for all) pronounced them from the pulpit; they muſt of neceſſity appear to have a roughneſs in them, which is not found in other ſermons more accurately penned by their authors. For, though the publiſher has ſometimes ſupplied him out of himſelf, by transferring to a defective place, that which he found in ſome other diſcourſe where the ſame ſubject was treated; yet, ſo great a regard was had to the very *text*, and *letter* of *his author*, that he would not offer to alter the leaſt word: and, whereſoever he has added any thing, to correct the moſt apparent omiſſion, or fault of the penman, he has taken care to have it marked in different characters; that nothing might appear as *our author*'s own, which was not perfectly *his*. Tho', ſome others in the world have been very far from this caution: ſince, of late, ſome things have been ſet in *our author*'s name, which his beſt friends diſown to be his; and which any one who ſtudies him in his genuine works, will eaſily know to be unworthy of him.

And, now, when theſe diſadvantages which have been mentioned, are conſidered; ſince they are no more than what ſenſible people will eaſily make allowance for; 'tis preſumed there may be in the world ſome perſons who will, notwithſtanding, think theſe ſermons to be of worth, and may perhaps diſcover in them ſome peculiar beauties, ſuch as are not to be deſpiſed for want of that ornament which might have accompanied them. I know that there are now growing up, in the world too many who are prejudiced againſt all pulpit-diſcourſes; and who, in this prophane age, are led to think not only *the inſtitution of preaching*, but even the *goſpel* itſelf, and *our holy religion* to be a fraud. But, notwithſtanding all the prejudice of this kind, 'tis to be hoped, that even ſome of theſe perſons (if they have any candor left) may be induced to applaud ſome things that they may meet with here: ſo as from hence, perhaps, to like Chriſtianity the better. *This* we may with aſſurance ſay, that were there beſides ours, any religion, antient or modern, that had ſo divine a man as this to ſhew; theſe very men would admire and reverence him; and though a prieſt of that religion, and bound to comply with eſtabliſhed ſuperſtition, would praiſe his virtue; and, perhaps, be forwardeſt to extol his ſentences and works, in oppoſition to our ſacred religion. But this is hard, that even *heathen religion*, and *paganiſm* can be more mildly treated, and cauſe *leſs averſion* than *Chriſtianity*. To ſuch men as theſe, I can ſay nothing further. But if they who are thus ſet againſt Chriſtianity, cannot be won over, by any thing that they may find here; yet we may aſſure our ſelves, at leaſt, of *this* good effect from hence, that the excellent ſpirit which is ſhewn here, and that vein of goodneſs, and humanity which appears throughout theſe diſcourſes,

will make ſuch as are already Chriſtians, to prize and value Chriſtianity the more: and, the fairneſs, ingenuity and impartiality, which they may learn from hence, will be a ſecurity to them againſt the contrary temper of thoſe other irreconcilable enemies to our holy faith.

The End of the Fourth Volume.

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[*N. B.* The letters ſhew the volume: the figures, the pages of each.

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